
THE
NEW OPINIONS AND PRINCIPLES
LATELY
INTRODUCED INTO FRANCE;
WITH
OBSERVATIONS.

THE
NEW OPINION PRINCIPLES



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THE
RISE, PROGRESS,
AND
CONSEQUENCES,
OF THE
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OBSERVATIONS.

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1799.

TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE EARL OF DALKEITH.

MY LORD,

THE patriotic ardour and activity which your LORDSHIP has displayed during the present momentous crisis of danger and alarm, have marked you out as the associate and the patron of every true friend of his country. While engaged, therefore, in putting together some thoughts upon a subject in which the interests of the Nation are deeply concerned; and being at the same time prompted, from a desire of being useful, to introduce my papers to the world under the protection of a name which might recommend them to the attention of the patriotic and the virtuous—it was impossible for me not

to

to consider your LORDSHIP as the person to whom
they ought to be inscribed. I have the honour
to be,

MY LORD,

With the highest respect,

Your LORDSHIP's most obedient

Humble Servant,

THE AUTHOR.

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THE

THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND CONSEQUENCES,

OF THE NEW OPINIONS AND PRINCIPLES

**LATELY INTRODUCED INTO
FRANCE;
WITH OBSERVATIONS.**

CHAP. I.

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

AT a time when destructive wars prevail and states are overturned, when old opinions are discarded and new principles of action adopted; it is natural for the wondering spectator to enquire, whence arise these changes, and what effects are they fitted to produce? The old are wont to believe, that whatever opinions have been sanctioned by many successive ages must be founded in reason and truth. The young, on the other hand, are apt to consider the opinions of the old as unfashionable, as the effects of ignorance and prejudice. But as it would be cri-

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minal to adopt opinions which respect our own character and the happiness of other men, either because they are old or because they are new ; it is incumbent upon every one of us to examine with calmness and deliberation all opinions before we espouse them ; to ascertain upon what foundation they rest ; whether they have the evidence of reason, or the authority of human experience ; whether they spring from true or false views of human nature and of the ends of political association ; and whether they give encouraging hopes of improving the happiness of man.

It is certainly the duty of every individual to promote the improvement and happiness of his fellow-creatures as far as he is able, and to rejoice in those blessings which the talents of illustrious men add to the general stock. Now, as we cannot determine what is the highest degree of knowledge, of virtue, and of happiness, to which mortals ought to aspire, a wise man will not rashly maintain, that it is either impossible or improbable that mankind may arrive at a much higher degree of perfection in this world than they have hitherto attained.

If we trace history back to the beginning of authentic records, we shall find, that though many revolutions have taken place ; though civilized nations have been over-run by barbarians ; and though knowledge has often been eclipsed
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by ignorance; the arts and sciences have been making a gradual and perceptible progress from the commencement of history to the present time. There is no reason to suppose that politics, considered either as an art or as a science, has yet attained its greatest height. Since the institution of the feudal system, all the states of Europe have made considerable progress towards improvement. Our own laws and government, in particular, have been every century receiving important corrections and additions; and there is reason to expect, that if they shall continue to be amended with caution and wisdom, they will be much more perfect before the end of the next century than they are at present. We ought not then to dismiss without examination all new opinions in politics; for if every thing new is rejected, there is an end of all improvement.

The French have raised their constitution upon new opinions and new principles. If these are more perfect and more just, if they have a tendency to produce greater happiness than those which formerly prevailed, we ought highly to value the discovery. But as the truth and excellence of these new opinions and principles have not been proved by experience, the only standard by which they can be estimated, why should we receive them as perfect upon the recommendation of any individuals, or of any na-

tion inhabiting the globe? We have eyes to see, we have minds to perceive, we have reason to compare and to judge as well as they—and why should we neglect to use them? Shall we, then, in an abject pusillanimous manner renounce our own understanding and the experience of our venerable ancestors, and implicitly adopt, without examination, opinions imported from France, as if we were a puny, ignorant, weak-minded, credulous nation, that knows not how to act, or what to believe, till aided by the supreme wisdom of a foreign state? Were such to be our conduct for the future, Britain, which has long been the admiration, the dread, the envy of Europe, would soon sink into insignificance and contempt; and reflecting posterity, while they might lament the downfall of so great and illustrious a nation, would justly ascribe our misfortunes to unmanly indolence, servility, and want of spirit.

When the French say to other nations, our constitution is the most perfect which the world ever saw, and we exhort all to adopt it—civility may require us to thank them for their advice; but interest, honour, and duty, the superintending principles of human conduct, demand of us to think before we act; to consider maturely, whether the proposed innovations be agreeable to justice, and give reason to hope that they will promote the happiness of society. We ought also

so to consider attentively, whether our character and situation may not be very different from the character and situation of the French; whether we require the same changes; or whether our circumstances will admit them. It is a well-known maxim in education, that different tempers and capacities require different kinds of discipline. It is no less true in politics, that different nations require different kinds of government. Rude savage tribes cannot be governed by the same laws as civilized nations; nor are a dull phlegmatic people fitted for the same government as those of a brisk, lively, and volatile character. A Frenchman is as different from an Englishman as if he were an animal of a different species. The country, the customs and manners, the modes of thinking peculiar to each, are very dissimilar. It is therefore not improbable that the two nations may require different forms of government. M. Bertrand de Moleville, a Frenchman of distinguished abilities and of respectable character, who was well acquainted with the ardent temper of his countrymen, declared as his opinion, after examining the British constitution, that the French do not possess such a degree of coolness and moderation as to fit them for so free a government as we enjoy. If this opinion be well-founded, we should be led from it to suspect, that every government established

established in France might have some tendency either to oppression or licentiousness. When then we borrow any improvements from France, we must be on our guard not to copy in a servile manner, lest we adopt what may be inconsistent with our character and ruinous to our happiness. I beg leave therefore to solicit the attention of my countrymen to the new principles which have been lately introduced into France. Let them be examined fairly and candidly, and with all the strictness and rigour which an honest mind, zealous in search of truth, and fearful of falling into error, would think it necessary to employ upon a subject of the utmost importance. If those principles be founded in reason, and if they be calculated to produce a high degree of happiness, the more strictly they are examined, the more conspicuous will their excellence and utility appear.

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CHAP. II.
OF THE DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN.

Most of the new principles which prevail in France are contained in the Declaration of the Rights of Man. This Declaration, which is evidently intended to comprehend all the elementary principles of a free government, is said to have been framed by the Abbé Syeyes. It was presented in 1789 to the Constituent Assembly, in order to receive their sanction. The Assembly referred it to the consideration of the thirty *bureaux* or committees, into which that house was divided; but so obnoxious were its principles, that it was rejected by twenty-eight of the committees. Bouche then proposed that it should be discussed by the whole Assembly: and after a keen debate, which lasted a whole night, it was carried on the 4th of August by the influence of the galleries*.

As it was necessary, according to the constitution which at that time was established in France, that the king should give his assent to the decrees of the Assembly before they could be passed into

* Bouillé's Memoirs.

a law, the Declaration of the Rights of Man was presented to the king. But that monarch, who always disliked abstract inquiries upon this subject, could not be persuaded to give it his sanction. The advocates of the Declaration were not, however, intimidated by a repulse. They fought, with eagerness, an opportunity when they might urge their petition in a more determined tone; and at length succeeded in drawing the king into a situation in which the firmness of a more decisive mind would have been shaken, where remonstrance would have been vain and opposition dangerous.

On the 5th of October, in the same year, an insurrection was raised in Paris. A great multitude of women of the lowest order, and of men disguised in a female habit, went from Paris to Versailles armed with pikes, pitchforks, and such other weapons as they could procure. They marched into the Assembly-house, and surrounded the king's chateau. In the mean time the Assembly decreed, that Mounier the president and six deputies should go to the king and demand his assent to the edict of the fourth of August. These commissioners repaired to the chateau, each of them led by two of the Parisian women. On this trying occasion, the king displayed so much genuine sensibility, that the feelings of the women were entirely overpowered.

powered. They fell upon their knees, begged permission to kiss his hand, and, charmed with his affability and tenderness of heart, ran out of the palace, exclaiming *Vive le Roi! Vive notre bon Roi!* But the deputies were not so easily overcome; nor did any sympathy for the sad situation of the king dispose them to neglect their commission, or to cease from urging his compliance in the strongest manner. At first Louis was firm, and resolutely refused to sanction the declaration; but the dangers that surrounded him becoming every moment greater and more imminent, he at length, with much reluctance, yielded to the necessity of his situation, and gave his assent. It is now well known, that this insurrection was excited by the Jacobins on purpose to force the king to sanction the declaration. It was also intended to force the king to remove to Paris, where he would be entirely under the power of the Jacobins *.

The constitution of 1791, which had been ushered in with the greatest pomp and rejoicing, soon gave place to the constitution of 1793. The constitution of 1793 was solemnly placed among the archives of the nation, and that moment was called the most important epoch of the human

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* *Histoire de la Conjuration du Duc D'Orleans.*

race. But the constitution which had been unanimously approved in 1793, was unanimously rejected in 1795. A new system was formed by a committee of eleven in 1795, which was received with the most unbounded applause. I think it was upon this occasion that the minister of the interior came to report, that the inhabitants of Angouleme had, in their ecstasy of joy upon the arrival of the constitutional act, embraced the man who brought it, and the horse who was so highly honoured as to carry the happy messenger†. All these political systems were founded upon the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which was therefore prefixed to each of them.

This declaration has undergone considerable changes as well as the constitution. Whether it has been improved it is not my province to determine; but it is necessary to mention, that a new right of man, namely, *equality*, was added in 1795, which had been overlooked in 1791. All attempts to disturb the public order established by law had been forbidden in the first Declaration; but the most entire liberty of speaking and writing upon all subjects is granted by the present.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man is supposed

† Neckar on the French Revolution.

posed to be drawn from a complete knowledge of human nature, and of the ends of society. It ought therefore to comprehend all the principles of law and government. In particular, it is intended to lay an eternal and immutable foundation, upon which the French are to rear a perfect constitution: It is to be the standard according to which all laws are to be formed, and the rule of conduct to all in authority. By means of those new axioms, it is probably expected that politics will be rendered as perfect a science as mathematics. Are we then to reckon the promulgation of those principles a glorious era in the history of man, as the period when the light of liberty first began to dawn, and government to be erected upon a firm and permanent foundation? It is possible that all these opinions may be well founded; but before we admit them as articles of our political creed, let us examine them by the tests of reason and experience.

All sciences are founded, or ought to be founded, upon reason; but reason without experience would often be a very fanciful foundation. To no science does this observation apply with more propriety than to politics, or the science of government; for the whole value which any political maxims possess, can only be known from experience. Before then we can duly estimate the principles of the Rights of Man, we must appeal

to experience. We must inquire whether these principles be derived from the opinions of the most illustrious statesmen and legislators, or deduced from the laws of the most enlightened nations. But though we consult the remains of those nations who breathed the purest air of liberty, though we search all the venerable records of ancient times, and ransack all the valuable writings, sacred or profane, which have issued from the pen of the learned, the wise, or the inspired, we shall find no opinions similar to the doctrine of the Rights of Man. Moses, who was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and illuminated by the rays of Divine Inspiration, knew nothing of the Rights of Man. They were equally unknown to Solon, the wise lawgiver of Athens; to Lycurgus, the founder of the wonderful constitution of Sparta; to Zoroaster, the father of the Persian theology; and to Confucius, the sage instructor of China. They seem never to have been heard of by the framers of the twelve tables of the Roman law, nor to have attracted the slightest attention from the statesmen who reared the British constitution.

The French Declaration of the Rights of Man has sometimes been compared to the Magna Charta of England. But to that splendid and illustrious remain of antiquity it bears no resemblance. The Magna Charta, or Great Charter, was

was voluntarily granted by Henry I. to his subjects, and copies of it were transmitted, by order of that monarch, to every county in the kingdom. When afterwards King John violated every duty of a prince, and became an intolerable oppressor of his people, the charter of Henry was a powerful incentive, which roused the indignation of the barons, and served to guide their remonstrances and demands. The Magna Charta was accordingly renewed and enlarged, or perhaps modelled anew, during the reign of John; and was ratified more than 30 times by his immediate successors. As it was originally formed where a government already existed, and was the work of plain men, whose sentiments were not refined to excess by abstract or fanciful speculations, it was framed upon the supposition, that there ought to be a distinction of ranks, and that the orders of clergy, nobility, and commons, ought to be established. For it secures certain privileges and immunities to each of these orders; and is in reality a fair and legal compact made between the king and the people, between the governor and those who are governed*.

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* See Hume's History of England, and Johnson's History and Defence of Magna Charta.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man was composed under an established government, which had long exercised extensive power; yet it supposes a state previous to the existence of government, and consequently of society; for no society is found without some kind of government. It supposes a number of men assembled, for the first time, to determine what are the principles upon which a government ought to be constituted; an event which certainly never did happen, except in the brain of some romantic philosopher.

Between the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Great Charter of the English Nation there is a conspicuous, a decided difference. The authors of the Declaration placed themselves in an imaginary situation; the authors of the Great Charter thought only of the situation in which they found themselves. The former were anxious to determine the rights of man in the abstract; the latter, unconcerned about the rights of man in the abstract, were careful to point out the grievances under which they laboured, and with firm, but calm resolution, demanded redress. The French would not be satisfied with any government, however happily men might live under its protection, unless it were founded upon their own favourite theory. The English disregarded all theories, and desired
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only to correct the practical part of government. The one nation was buoyed up with the idea of forming a perfect government; the other went no farther than to reform what every man saw and felt to be wrong. The articles of the Declaration consist of abstract metaphysical doctrines; those of the Magna Charta are particular, adapted to the situation of the times, real, substantial, intelligible to all. And, to finish the comparison, the articles contained in the French Declaration truly form what they are denominated, a *mere* declaration; but the articles contained in the English Magna Charta are something more than a declaration; they are a compact, a charter, an obligation. It is needless to make any comparison between the declaration of the Rights of Man and the Bill of Rights which was drawn up by the Parliament at the Revolution; for the Bill of Rights is really a special ratification and enlargement of the Magna Charta, and contains nothing that resembles the Declaration.

If the Declaration of the Rights of Man have no precedent in history, if it receive no authority from experience, it is necessary to inquire, Of what benefit can it be to society? Is it intended for the instruction of the learned or unlearned? To the learned, there is reason to fear, it will serve rather as a subject of controversy than a standard of judgment or rule of action.

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They have been debating, as far back as we can trace the disputes of philosophers, whether man be a free or a necessary agent. Now, if it be so difficult to determine this question, which our feelings might enable us to decide, is it to be expected that the learned will more easily establish, what are the rights which liberty or necessity enables us to maintain?

But it may be said, the Declaration may be of great advantage to the unlearned, who form the great body of the people. As they receive their opinions chiefly from authority, is it not of the utmost consequence to give them a just idea of the fundamental principles of government, that they may always be ready to defend themselves against oppression? But if it be necessary to instruct the common people in the fundamental principles of government, it is surely necessary that this instruction should be intelligible. Now the Declaration is not particular like the Magna Charta and Bill of Rights; it consists of many abstract, vague, indefinite propositions, which cannot be accurately understood by the common people, and may therefore be used as tools to work upon their minds by every aspiring demagogue. This is not a mere conjecture; for we have already witnessed in this country what dangerous significations may be given to vague, indefinite phrases.

I would therefore ask the advocates of the Rights of Man, Can you prove from reason that your principles are true, and your system complete? Are you sure that you have enumerated all the Rights of Man, and that you have displayed the true ends of government? These questions require to be maturely considered. For what will be the consequence if, after destroying your ancient laws and government; if, after reprobating all other constitutions as arbitrary and unlawful—you yourselves shall establish principles which are defective and false? By assuming defective and false principles, is there not the greatest danger that the government and laws arising from them will be subversive of individual, of social, and national happiness? Is there no danger that you corrupt and poison the minds of the people by teaching such principles; that you unhinge the frame of society; that you are paving the way for revolution after revolution, and introducing, as guides, passion instead of reason, and false contemptible ideas of self-interest instead of a sense of duty? I appeal to all thinking men, I appeal to the advocates of the Rights of Man themselves, whether these consequences are not to be dreaded if the principles assumed be defective and erroneous. Therefore, in order to judge of the nature of these principles, let us examine the Declaration of the Rights of Man

more particularly, selecting such articles as are remarkable for their novelty or importance.

CHAP. III.

OF THE END OF GOVERNMENT.

SECT. I. *Of the Duties of Government.*

THE first article in the Declaration is intended to define the end of society and government.

“ART. I. The end of society is the common good; government is instituted to secure to man the enjoyment of his rights.”

When a philosopher is engaged in searching after first principles, he ought not to rest satisfied with those that are secondary; otherwise all his definitions and principles will be mere parade. They may indeed impose upon the unlearned and unskilful, and appear beautiful to their eyes; but the moment a true philosopher approaches, they will crumble into ashes like the fabulous apples of Sodom. But how does it appear a first principle that the end of government is to preserve the rights of man? Is this to be the sole business of man, the ultimate object of moral and intelligent beings? Was it for this purpose

purpose we were endowed with so many noble faculties, and placed here amidst the astonishing wonders of creation; wonders fitted to raise the soul to the source of all wisdom and excellence, and cherish the most animating hopes by the sublimest prospects? Was it to defend the rights of man that we were made men? and shall our character in this life, and our happiness in the world to come, depend upon the vigour and success with which we watch over the rights of man?

Before we can discover what is the end of government, we must determine what is the end of man. It was by answering this question that the Declaration ought to have begun. The intention of creating man, and of placing him in this world, is discoverable in two ways; by examining the nature of man, and by searching the word of God. By examining the nature of man, we learn, that he is a moral and intelligent being, capable of making high attainments in knowledge and virtue: By the Scriptures, we are taught, that it is his duty to seek after these; and that for this purpose he was created and appointed to reside in this sublunary mansion. One who is illuminated with the light of modern philosophy, will perhaps smile at the credulity and superstition of the writer who refers to that antiquated book the Bible. To this I answer,

that if the Bible really be the word of God, he must be a very self-sufficient man who will not avail himself of the knowledge communicated by the God of wisdom and truth. And if it be possible for an all-wise and all-powerful Being to reveal his will to the creatures which he has made; if it be possible to prove a divine revelation by any species and degrees of evidence—the Scriptures must be the word of God: For the truth of the principal facts is demonstrated by every possible species of evidence, and by the highest degree of it which it was proper to give to a moral probationary being like man. Till therefore the evidence of testimony be destroyed; till it be proved that God cannot foresee what is to come, and that the miracles and prophecies recorded in Scripture are incredible and impossible—every man is bound to acknowledge the Scriptures as the word of God. I may add, that he who disbelieves the Scriptures, always does so, either because he is a bad man and does not wish them to be true, or because he is not acquainted with the minute, the numerous, the astonishing, and irrefragable proofs by which they are supported. If, therefore, the Christian religion be of Divine origin, or if sound philosophy, which always coincides with it, deserve any credit, man is a moral and intelligent being, qualified to make high acquisitions in knowledge and virtue,

tue, and destined, after he has left this fleeting scene, to live for ever in a better world.

If then the business of man in this world is to acquire those qualifications which will fit him for the enjoyment of a future state, a future state ought never to be forgotten by legislators, when engaged in the important office of making those laws which are to regulate the conduct of society. To frame a government without taking into view the preparation which must be made for a future state, is just as if we were to make laws for infants, without ever reflecting that infants must be prepared for becoming men. If laws are to be formed on a solid and permanent footing, the principles upon which they are founded must be deduced, not from a partial and imperfect view of the nature and history of man, but by attending to his whole nature, by remembering his future destination as well as his present condition.

The end of government is the same with the end of man. It is to produce the highest degree of knowledge, of virtue, and of happiness. Every government ought therefore to secure all public advantages, and to employ every mean calculated to improve them. Now there are three things requisite to make nations and individuals wise, virtuous, and happy,

I. The capacity of acquiring knowledge and virtue must be preserved.

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II. The means of acquiring knowledge and virtue must be employed.

III. All temptations to vice must be removed.

First, The capacity of acquiring knowledge and virtue must be preserved. For this purpose four things are necessary; 1. Life, which is the foundation of every other blessing, must be protected. 2. Property, which is the means of subsistence, of charity, and of promoting the public good, must be ensured. 3. Character, which is necessary to fit a man for enjoying opportunities of improvement, and to render him useful to society, must be preserved. 4. Every liberty consistent with piety, justice, and rational self-interest, should be granted, that every man may be permitted to follow his innocent inclinations.

Secondly, The means of knowledge and virtue must be secured. Instructors ought to be appointed to initiate the young in the principles of morality and in every species of useful knowledge. Instructors ought also to be chosen to teach and admonish persons of every age, and especially those who are arrived at manhood.

Thirdly, While care is taken to encourage the cultivation of knowledge and virtue, the utmost attention ought to be employed, in order to remove entirely, or to diminish as much as possible, temptations to vice, that crimes may rather be prevented than punished.

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Of these three divisions only the first has been included in the Declaration of the Rights of Man; that being reckoned in France the sole end of instituting a government. The two last divisions have been entirely overlooked. Yet in framing a perfect government, they are evidently as necessary as the rights of man for producing knowledge, virtue, and happiness. It will not therefore, I hope, be a useless employment, first, to enquire whether there be any defects in the French enumeration of the rights of man, and then to consider, whether it be probable that a good constitution can be devised, which shall include only what is mentioned above as the first end of government, and entirely overlook the second and third.

SECT. II. *The First Duty of Government.*

THE first great duty of government is to secure to every individual the power and opportunity of acquiring knowledge and virtue. For this purpose, life, property, character, and liberty, must be secured and preserved. From this statement the Declaration of the Rights of Man differs widely, as will be evident upon examining the second article. At present, we consider only whether the enumeration of the Rights of Man
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be defective; we will afterwards inquire whether it contains any errors.

“ART. II. The Rights of Man in society are, Liberty, equality, security, and property.”

The first defect which is observable in this enumeration of the rights of man is, that no provision is made for guarding the life of the citizens. It is remarkable, it is passing strange, that the very fundamental right of man is forgotten by those philosophical legislators; that liberty, security, and property, nay, that even equality should be a right of man, and that life should not be considered as a right of man. Yet is not the life more than any one of these? It may be said, that life must be presupposed as the foundation of every right. There is no doubt that this is the case; but in enumerating the rights of man, it is very awkward, and very unphilosophical, to omit the principal, the most important right of man, the right upon which the exercise of all the rest depends. It is just as if a man, who proposed to reckon up all the necessaries of life, should mention every thing but food.

There is a second striking defect in the enumeration of the rights of man; no notice is taken of character, though undoubtedly it is a right which every good man wishes to preserve, and which it is the purpose of all good laws to defend. It may indeed be replied, that character

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ter is comprehended under the definition of liberty, which is said "to consist in the power of doing that which does not injure another." But this definition comprehends equality and property as much as it comprehends character; yet equality and property are mentioned as separate rights, and why not character too? An attack upon character may be as unjust and as hurtful as an attack upon liberty or property, or even upon life. In many professions, the loss of character is attended with the loss of employment, which is the loss of property, with the loss of friends, which is the loss of happiness. In many cases it is followed by such disgrace, shame, and mortification, as to be more painful than death itself. That government, then, must be very defective, which does not defend character against unjust attacks with as much vigilance as property, or liberty, or life. Though in this country we have no Declaration of the Rights of Man, we know the value of character, and always reckon calumny and detraction flagrant offences, which deserve to be punished with the greatest severity.

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SECT. III. *The Second Duty of Government.*

THE second great duty of government requires that proper institutions should be established for promoting knowledge and virtue in society.

Besides the defects now mentioned in what I have distinguished as the first end of government, the omission of the second and third end of government is a radical fault, which nothing can palliate, and which no form of government can supply. He that can hope to frame a perfect constitution, which will make men happy, without establishing regulations for diffusing knowledge and virtue, and for preserving society from the contagion of pernicious vices, must be very ignorant of the human character, and of the nature of a good government. For whatever other advantages a government may possess, can never, without these, make a nation great, prosperous, and happy. While it neglects to promote knowledge, religion, and virtue, it neglects the most essential ingredients of human happiness.

While the most sacred obligations of humanity require every good man to mark with the severest censure these dangerous defects in the Declaration, justice requires, that no circumstance, tending to alleviate this censure, should be forgotten. It must therefore be mentioned, that one of
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the general heads in the French constitution is intitled *Public Instruction*. This article is not indeed introduced in its proper place, as connected with the end of government ; yet since it is introduced somewhere, I shall consider what it contains, without making any remarks upon the badness of the arrangement.

“ There are (Title IX.) in the republic primary schools, where the pupils learn to read, to write, the elements of arithmetic, and those of morality. The republic provides only for the expence of the lodging of the instructors appointed to these schools. There are, in different parts of the republic, schools superior to the primary schools, and at least one for every two departments. There is for the whole republic a national institution, charged to collect discoveries, to improve the arts and sciences.”

I hope that these schools will be instituted upon a good plan, and sincerely wish that they may be attended with much utility. But there is one very essential defect, which it is impossible to overlook ; there is no public fund set apart to encourage men of abilities to dedicate their life to the office of instruction. The plan of providing only proper accommodation for instructors, without appointing any salary, might be introduced with advantage into several great towns. In great towns there is generally a sufficient

number of pupils to reward the labours of men of talents; and therefore great salaries in such cases would not only be superfluous, but hurtful. But to withhold salaries from all teachers, would deprive the country villages and hamlets altogether of the means of instruction. If country schoolmasters had no salary, they could not live by their office. In many parishes in Scotland, it is well known that the fees of the school for the whole year do not amount to more than a few pounds, not half so much as a day-labourer in many places can earn. And unless an addition, in some form or other, be soon made to the parochial salaries, the consequence must inevitably be, that the character of schoolmaster will be despised, and the candidates for the office will degenerate so much, that it will become a matter of little consequence whether there be any instructors or not. In this case, what is to become of the common people? They must again fall back into the rudeness of the dark ages, and be ready to join with every demagogue who will rear the standard of revolt. The love of learning, and the generosity which prevails among a great proportion of the wealthy inhabitants of Great Britain, will, I trust, prevent such evils from coming upon our country. But if there be reason to dread such consequences in Britain, what must be the case in France, where no means of subsistence are offered to the teachers

teachers? The probability is, that in all poor country places there will be no teachers at all, and the people must remain unacquainted with the first principles of knowledge. They will be taught neither to read nor to write, but will become as ignorant as the savage of the desert.— This is the new mode of civilizing mankind!

But though the French have made some apparent provision for the instruction of the young, they have entirely neglected the instruction of the old. Yet, is it a matter of no importance that there should be some regular institution, by which men of all ages may be reminded of the duties which they owe to God, to their neighbour, and to themselves? Is it possible that immortal beings should think it their duty to make regulations concerning the make or the colour of their clothes (which the French have done in their assemblies), and yet should deem it unnecessary to establish the means by which men might be instructed in the great doctrines of morality and religion? that rewards should be offered to the man who should discover the easiest process of making saltpetre; and yet that no encouragement should be given to those who are employed in administering the heavenly balm of consolation to the wounded spirit, whose instructions tend to raise men to the dignity of angels, and who point the way to immortal bliss?

I am perfectly aware, that there are inconveniences attending an established church, and that it is difficult to render it so susceptible of improvement in its forms as to keep pace with the progress of the sciences. But do not inconveniences attend all human institutions? Ought we then to form no institutions, because we cannot render them perfect? I know that one elegant and respectable author has endeavoured to prove, that a government ought to establish no church, but should permit all its subjects to choose what form of religion they please. But that gentleman lived in a very different state of society from that in which we live. Indeed it appears impossible that any man of reflection and virtue can look abroad upon the scenes passing in the present age, and continue to espouse that opinion. If you destroy the established religion without substituting a more perfect religion in its place, you give unbounded scope to those ideas of atheism and irreligion which have been lately disseminated with diabolical care among the lower ranks. If the whole society are not qualified to protect and encourage religion, how is it to be expected that individuals can do it? And if ideas hostile to religion were once spread among the common people, do you flatter yourselves that sufficient funds would be supplied by voluntary contribution to support the teachers of religion?

religion? No. Religious instructors would be declared unnecessary, and men would be disposed to spend that money upon luxuries and refinements which ought to have promoted their religious knowledge.

In civilized countries, the languages, arts, and sciences, may be taught with success by private persons, who receive no other compensation for their skill and labour than the fees of their pupils. The reason is obvious: A knowledge of the arts paves the way to the acquisition of wealth; some knowledge of the languages and sciences is necessary to success in many professions; and to men of rank and fortune it is deemed a fashionable accomplishment. For teachers of languages, arts, and sciences, there is therefore a certainty of emolument, at least in great towns, where the concourse of scholars is sufficient to furnish an ample income.

There is, however, a complete distinction to be made between the voluntary support which the world is disposed to give to teachers of the arts and sciences, and what it is inclined to give to religious instructors. Suppose then the church establishment were destroyed, what motives would remain to incite a sufficient number of men of abilities and learning to dedicate their lives to the duties of a clergyman? I am convinced that there are many worthy men of such benevolence
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of disposition, as to reckon the pleasure of doing good a sufficient recompense. But, alas! there is too much reason to fear, that the hope of doing good in such a situation would often be a fallacious motive. Every man who devotes his time to the duties of the clerical office, must either have an independent revenue of his own, or must derive his support from the liberality of others. But if his subsistence depend entirely upon the liberality of his hearers, there is the utmost danger lest his discourses be too much influenced, perhaps insensibly, by the passions and prejudices of his hearers. On the other hand, an established church, instead of following the fashionable sentiments of the times, may enlighten and guide the minds of men.

It will certainly be objected to this conclusion, Do not the dissenters support their teachers by voluntary contribution? Have not many of them as ample an income as the members of the established church? Are they not equally beloved by their hearers, and their instructions listened to with as much attention and respect? I wish all this may be true, and I rejoice in the hope that it is so: yet there is no reason to retract the opinions already delivered concerning the importance and necessity of an established church. For who does not see that it is to the established church the dissenting teachers are indebted for
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all the advantages they enjoy? For the stipend of the parochial clergy is a standard to which vanity leads the people to assimilate what is to be given to the man of their choice : And the permanence of the established church gives permanence to the principles which induce a portion of the people to pay for instructors of their own. But were the established church once destroyed, the dissenting teachers would find, to their mortification and astonishment, that the ruin of the church would be as fatal to them as it would be injurious to religion. However paradoxical this assertion may seem to many, all men of reflection among them will see, that it is their interest not to destroy the church. Let them look to America, and their opinion will be decided.

Upon this subject all analogical reasoning from the arts and sciences is false and deceitful : for the situation of a clergyman is entirely different from that of a teacher of the arts and sciences. A teacher of an art or science gives instructions upon a subject which has no tendency to excite the passions, and which does not affect the moral character or conduct of his pupils : but a religious instructor, who is duly impressed with a sense of the importance and responsibility of his office, will not only instruct his hearers in the great truths of religion ; he will admonish, he will warn, he will rebuke. If he sincerely desire to

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be useful, he must not allow himself to be fettered in the discharge of his duty by the fear of offending some of his hearers, or the wish of pleasing others. Now, if he be not proof against all temptations (and who can pretend to be so?), he will be continually liable to be influenced by the desire of pleasing the hearers on whom he depends for his subsistence, whether this can be best done by political address and by flattery, by giving way to their prejudices, to their passions, and to their vices. I would as soon enact a law, that a judge should be paid for his decision by the parties which appeal to justice, as that the clergy should be maintained by their hearers.

It has been said, that by making a clergyman independent, he is apt to become negligent and slothful. But this can never be the case with men who have any regard to character; and where a regard to character is wanting, it can never be supplied by making a man dependent. The best way to create and preserve a sense of character, experience declares, is, to make men independent. If then the making of clergymen independent will not dispose them to act virtuously, dependence upon the humour and caprice of the multitude may indeed teach them hypocrisy, and cringing, and flattery; but it can never tend to form that manly decision and invincible fortitude

fortitude which always accompany an upright mind.

It must candidly be acknowledged, that an established church has sometimes been tyrannical, and has attempted to engross all power, temporal as well as spiritual: but we know that the best things have been abused; learning has been often converted into pedantry, reason has dwindled into sophistry, governments of every species have degenerated into tyranny, and religion has been perverted to the worst of purposes. If an established church has errors, let them be corrected: but because an established church has sometimes abused its power, let no nation say, We will have no established church. For this is to say, we will have no church, we will have no religious instructors, we will have no religion. A state without a church is like a ship without a helm: and that state which gives no encouragement to the teachers of religion, neglects the most obvious and certain means of making its subjects civilized, virtuous, and happy. Shall a government enact sanguinary laws to punish crimes, and shall it employ no methods to prevent them? Shall it banish or bring to the scaffold every year thousands of unhappy men, men often of distinguished abilities (for it requires abilities to be a villain)? and shall it attempt no mild nor lenient preventives? Of all antidotes

against crimes, religion is the most humane, the most salutary, and the most powerful. A state ought therefore to be as careful to propagate pure religion, as to make wise and beneficent laws.

Some philosophers have asserted, that society, when left to itself, will naturally seek after religious knowledge. But there is not a single reason to believe that men will spontaneously cultivate religious knowledge, any more than there is to expect that every man would become a good citizen if the laws were abolished. Indeed I would as soon believe that an abolition of the criminal law would render the whole race of pickpockets, sharpers, and highwaymen, sober, honest, and industrious, as that the destruction of the established church would promote the cause of virtue and religion.

But the authors of the Rights of Man, and some of the most eminent of the French philosophers, have considered religion as useless, and the Christian religion as a vain and absurd superstition, which it was the duty of enlightened men to oppose and destroy. This opinion, when traced to its origin, must be ascribed to a degree of ignorance that is disgraceful; to a degree of vanity, arrogance, and presumption, which no wise man ever displayed; or to a degree of wickedness which, for the honour of human nature, I hope is seldom to be found. A plan was
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formed many years ago by Voltaire, with the express intention of overturning the Christian religion. "I am weary (said that author) of hearing people repeat, that twelve men were sufficient to establish Christianity; I will prove that one man is able to overthrow it*." In this conspiracy he was joined by Frederic II. of Prussia, D'Alembert, and Diderot. These men digested a plan into a regular form, with the design of attacking Christianity in every manner possible.

Their first step was to poison the minds of the learned by disseminating irreligious opinions. In order to conceal their malignant design under the most specious appearances, they made the dose as sweet and palatable as possible without diminishing its strength†. With this view they planned the *Encyclopedie*, a Dictionary of Arts and Sciences. So vast an undertaking, conducted by men whose reputation for taste and learning had spread over Europe, would certainly be read and studied; and as it was not very probable that such a book should be published with

* *Vie de Voltaire, par Condorcet.*

† The facts which follow, respecting the plan of destroying Christianity, are taken from *Memoires pour Servir a l'Histoire du Jacobinisme*, written by the Abbé Baruel. This is a most curious and interesting publication, and abounds with facts which appear to be perfectly authentic.

with the intention of undermining Christianity, they hoped to steal upon the learned when off their guard, and to instil their deistical sentiments before the plot could be discovered. The plan which they have pursued in that work corresponded with these ideas. To give an example ; they have treated the articles GOD, LIBERTY, and SOUL, with as much appearance of seriousness and respect, and have given all the proper arguments with as fair a show of fidelity as the most virtuous philosopher could have done ; but under the words DEMONSTRATION and CORRUPTION, they have undermined every argument which they had employed in the former articles.

But it was not enough to corrupt the minds of the learned respecting the evidences and great doctrines of religion ; it was necessary to attack the church, and its natural defenders the clergy. The wealth of the church was very great, and the hope of sharing its spoils was a sufficient allurements to induce the infidel ministers of Louis XV. to plot its destruction. A project had been formed with this view so early as the year 1745, by M. D'Argenson, the great patron of Voltaire. The successors of that minister entered fully into this scheme ; but being sensible that it was too bold and hazardous to attempt openly, they adopted the resolution of carrying it slowly and clandestinely into execution. They first proposed

sed to destroy those religious orders which were least numerous, and would be least apt to rouse the vigilance of the clergy: Above all, they aimed at the destruction of the Jesuits; a society so distinguished for its numbers, its learning, and its influence, as to present a formidable bulwark against the assaults of the conspirators. The Jesuits, who were supposed to amount to 20,000 in number, were entrusted with the education of the young, and were the ablest defenders of revealed religion. It was therefore evident, that till their overthrow should be accomplished, the pillars of the church could not be shaken. This darling object was at length attained. The sentence of banishment was issued against the Jesuits, by which France was deprived of some of its greatest ornaments and most useful subjects.

The destruction of the Jesuits, it was expected, would be accompanied with the downfall of the church. The Abbé Baruel mentions a curious anecdote upon this subject. Three ambassadors were one day conversing with the Duc de Choiseul, who was a zealous patron of infidelity. One of the ambassadors said, that if he should ever have any power, he would destroy all the religious orders except the Jesuits, whom he would spare because they were useful instructors. "And I (said Choiseul), if I had the power, would destroy none but the Jesuits; because, if their instructions

structions were withdrawn, all the other religious orders would fall of their own accord." To the great mortification of the conspirators, the church continued to stand after the exile of the Jesuits. They therefore next proposed to abolish all the religious orders.

Frederic of Prussia advised them to remain satisfied at present with destroying these; and that the time would come when the bishops would be so little regarded, that sovereigns might dispose of them as they pleased.

While the conspirators were engaged in the execution of these plans, a scheme was formed by Voltaire, which he thought might be productive of the most important consequences. This was to establish a seminary of infidels, who might openly teach their peculiar doctrines, and propagate them over the world;—doctrines! such as must strike every good man with astonishment and horror. They taught, that there is no other difference between virtue and vice than the love of pleasure and pain; that remorse is nothing but the fear of men and of laws; and that a man is no more to be censured or punished for being vicious than for being squint-eyed or hunch-backed. They farther taught, that the fear of God is folly; for God makes no distinction between virtue and vice; and therefore that a bad action, when it is attended with utility, is law-
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ful, and can be committed without remorse. These were the favourite opinions entertained by Voltaire and his associates. To what shocking depravity must that mind be reduced which can, for a moment, harbour opinions so degrading to human nature, and so unworthy of the perfections of God! Could the evil principle of Zoroaster, or the most malignant of the infernal crew, conceive sentiments so false, so vile, so abandoned? Yet the men who gloried in these presumed to call themselves philosophers, and pretended that they were influenced solely by the philanthropic desire of enlightening mankind.

Voltaire, well knowing that the influence of the clergy could prevent this deistical academy from being created in France, applied to the King of Prussia for permission to establish it at Cleves. He proposed to Frederic (says the editor of their correspondence) "to establish at Cleves a little colony of French philosophers, who might be able to speak the truth boldly, without fearing ministers, priests, or parliaments." Had Frederic been only a philosopher and not a king, he would probably have acquiesced in this proposal without demanding any conditions; for he was as great an infidel as Voltaire: but Frederic's situation as a king taught him to act with wisdom, when his principles as a philosopher would have led him wrong. He agreed to

Voltaire's request, only upon condition that the colony should respect those who ought to be respected, and would keep within the bounds of decency in their writings. This grand scheme for converting mankind to infidelity, and for propagating immoral sentiments, fell to the ground from the selfishness of D'Alembert and the other heads of the conspiracy, who could not be prevailed upon to relinquish the blandishments of the city of Paris from the hope of enlightening mankind.

But though the conspirators did not succeed in forming their intended settlement at Cleves, they succeeded in another plan, which was more congenial to their wishes, and not less injurious to religion. The French Academy was at one time perhaps the most respectable society of learned men in Europe. It was composed of the most eminent poets, the most eloquent orators, and the most illustrious philosophers and historians. Nor were candidates admitted into this society solely on account of abilities, or learning, or taste, however distinguished they might be in these; a defect in moral character, or any disrespect shown to religion, was deemed a sufficient reason for excluding men of the greatest talents and reputation. But at length, by the influence of the Duke de Choiseul and other infidel ministers, with whom the king was surrounded, Voltaire, Diderot,

Diderot, and D'Alembert, obtained admission. These three men produced so entire a revolution in the academy, that impiety, instead of being a reason for excluding, became the principal reason for admitting members. So completely did they succeed in this artful project, that of the forty members, of which the academy consisted, there was only one man distinguished for his regard to religion. This was M. Beauzet *. This gentleman told the Abbé Baruel, that he had one day asked D'Alembert how he came to think of proposing him for a member, when he knew him to entertain opinions so different from the rest of the academy? D'Alembert replied, "I do not wonder at your astonishment; but we wanted a grammarian, and there was none of us that possessed such merit in that science as you: we know that you believe in God; but as we know you to be a good man, we proposed you, because we had no philosopher to supply your place."

They had instilled their opinions into the minds of a great proportion of the philosophers and men of letters. In this number we may mention the names of Freret, Boulanger, the Marquis D'Argens, La Metrie, La Harpe, and Condorcet; and it is with the utmost reluctance

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* *Memoires pour Servir à l'Histoire du Jacobinisme, tom. 1. p. 145.*

and regret that we add the names of Buffon and Marmontel, who were ignorant of the ultimate views of the conspirators. Most of the French ministers before the revolution were disciples of Voltaire, as the Marquis D'Argenson, the Duc de Choiseul, Malesherbes, Maurepas, Turgot, Brienne, and Neckar; for even Neckar is accused of attempting to disseminate the philosophy of Voltaire. Brienne is said to have offered himself as a candidate for the bishopric of Paris, that he might the more easily, under the mask of religion, diffuse irreligious principles. The conspirators having thus corrupted the primary sources of knowledge, next endeavoured to poison every stream. Those who were deemed men of learning, as well as those who sat at the helm of the state, being seduced, nothing remained but to corrupt the common people. When once the thinking part of the nation were misled, this was no difficult matter.

The corruption of the common people was attempted chiefly by the publication of immoral and impious books. At the time when it was difficult to publish such writings in France, they were printed in Holland. But when by the patronage of the Duc de Choiseul and Malesherbes greater indulgence was given to the licentiousness of the press, books, abounding with deistical, atheistical, and immoral sentiments, were circulated

ted with zeal. In some of these, as *Le Militaire Philosophe*, *De Bon Sens*, *Les Doutes*, *L'Imposture Sacerdotale*, the most odious opinions were delivered. It was affirmed in the first of these, that the Universal Cause, the God of the philosophers, of the Jews, and of the Christians, is a mere chimera, a phantom of the imagination. In the second, it was asserted, that the works of nature do not prove the existence of God, for these works are the necessary effects of matter variously modified. In the third, this doctrine, so salutary to the wicked, was taught, that there is no God, no difference between good and evil, no distinction between virtue and vice.

A great variety of books of this description was written by Voltaire and his disciples, and dispersed over the whole kingdom. The Abbé Baruel has quoted a memorial drawn up by M. Bertins, keeper of the privy purse to Louis XV. in which that gentleman fully laid open this dishonourable conduct. After mentioning his suspicions that impious books were circulated thro' the country, he goes on, "I suspected that those who sold books were the agents of the philosophers. In my journeys to the country, I applied myself to them. When they offered to sell me their books, I said to them, What books can you have? catechisms, without doubt, or prayer books; nothing else is read in the villages. At these

these words I saw them smile. No, replied they, these are not the books we sell; we do much better with the works of Voltaire, Diderot, and the other philosophers. I resumed, What! peasants purchase Voltaire and Diderot? how can they buy books so dear? The reply was, We can sell them at six sous (three pence Sterling) each volume, and yet have a handsome profit. They then acknowledged, that the books cost them nothing; that they received whole bales of them without knowing from whom they came, being requested only to sell them at a moderate price."

We should be led to suppose that the conspirators would have been fully satisfied with putting so many springs in motion; but they were so ardent to accomplish their scheme, that they were resolved to leave nothing unattempted. They established a secret committee, whose office was to recommend schoolmasters to country places, preceptors to great families, and professors to colleges. They kept up a correspondence with the provinces, and even with foreign countries. By these means they were informed of every vacancy that happened in schools or colleges; they knew who were the candidates, what was their character, and what interest was necessary to ensure success to their disciples. Above all things, this committee was anxious to obtain

obtain for their atheistical converts the office of superintending the education of princes. By their recommendation, Condilhac and De Leire were made preceptors to the prince of Parma, and they used every method they could devise to prevail upon Louis XVI. to entrust the dauphin to the care of their pupils. It was from this committee, which had assumed the name of Economists, that the impious books issued which were circulated in France. Voltaire was perpetual president; and the principal members were D'Alembert, Turgot, Condorcet, Diderot, La Harpe, and Lamoignon. The transactions of this dark conspiracy were at length brought to light by Leroy, who had acted as secretary, but who was constrained by remorse and horror to make a full confession.

Besides these regular plans for the subversion of Christianity, a most extraordinary project occurred to Voltaire, which had never been proposed since it had been in vain attempted by Julian in the height of his power. That emperor, anxious to exterminate the Christian religion, and hoping to destroy the evidence by which it was supported, had ordered the temple of Jerusalem to be rebuilt. It was supposed, that if this object could be accomplished, the prophecies of Jesus Christ would be proved false. Full of the same hopes, Voltaire petitioned the Empress of Russia

Russia to obtain leave of Ali Bey, the conqueror of Egypt and Syria, to recal the Jews, and to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem. But we have reason to believe, that the empress of Russia took no concern in the matter.

The plan of overturning the Christian religion did not terminate with the death of Voltaire and his associates, who died with a degree of remorse and horror shocking to relate*. It was carried

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* The death of these enemies of Christianity was so extraordinary, that it is impossible to pass it over slightly. Voltaire, perceiving his death at hand, sent for the Abbé Gaultier, in whose presence he made a declaration, that he died in the Catholic Faith, hoping that the Divine mercy would pardon all his sins; and if he had offended the church, he intreated forgiveness. Immediately after, his bedchamber was besieged by Diderot and D'Alembert, and twenty other conspirators; but they came only to be witnesses of their master's misery and their own disgrace. When they appeared, he loaded them with curses and reproaches. "Begone (said he), for it was you who brought me to this condition; begone, I could have done without you, but you could not do without me; and what pitiful glory have you gained for me! Then, by turns, he began to call upon God and to blaspheme him. With an accent of remorse he repeated Jesus Christ. Then he complained that he was abandoned of God and of men. His physicians, and in particular M. Tronchin, came to offer their relief; but they went out, declaring that they had seen the terrible spectacle of a wicked man dying. M. Tronchin affirmed, that the furies of Orestes were nothing to those of Voltaire; and the Mare-

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on by their disciples with unabated vigour, and at length consummated by the Convention. This Assembly first robbed the clergy of the funds which were allotted to them by ancient laws, and for the security of which the public faith had been solemnly pledged. Being stripped of their lawful possessions, 24,000 of them were assassinated, and the rest were driven into banishment. Then the Convention abolished the Christian era, substituting in its place the date of the calamities of France. They put an end to the Sunday, one of the most blessed institutions of society;

chal de Richelieu, who witnessed this dismal scene, withdrew with horror, repeating these words, "It is too much; it is impossible to bear it!" Voltaire died on the 30th of May 1778.

D'Alembert died five years after, in November 1783. Condorcet, fearing that in his last moments he might betray all the weakness of his master, guarded his bedchamber from every visitor, till the unhappy man expired; and then pretended that he died calm and undaunted. But in an unguarded moment he discovered the horrors of the dying man. "If I had not been there (said he) he also would have flinched." This presents us with the picture of the wretched D'Alembert, stung with remorse for what was past, and anticipating the horrors of the future; with Condorcet by his side, haunting him like an obstinate and relentless fiend, to check the tears of contrition, and to stifle the feelings of repentance.

At length the fate of Diderot also approached (July 1784). There was a young man who resided with him in the character of

ty; which was a day of rest to the weary, a day of instruction to the ignorant, a day of devotion to the pious. By the first of these changes, they evidently intended to destroy the remembrance of the birth of Jesus Christ; and by the second, to put an end to the commemoration of his resurrection from the dead. Is it possible that these are the real friends of the human race, who would wish to bury in oblivion the two most extraordinary

of secretary or librarian, whose opinions in religion were very different from his own. He had gained the affection of Diderot by his good behaviour, and particularly by his assiduity in his last illness. Sensible, from the symptoms which he perceived, that the philosopher had not long to live, he addressed him with so much gentleness and affection, awakened him so thoroughly to a sense of his danger, that the dying man shed tears, thanked his secretary for his kindness, and promised to deliberate seriously upon the part which he was now to take. The consequence of this deliberation was a request that a priest should be sent for. The curé of St Sulpice accordingly was called, and visited him several times. But while he was preparing to publish a recantation of his errors, the conspirators discovered the whole transaction. Hearing that Diderot was visited by a priest, they were alarmed; and, hurried with the zeal of infernal spirits to the bed of their dying master, they persuaded him that he was not so ill as was represented, and that the air of the country would soon re-establish his health. Thus did they drag from his death-bed the unhappy man in the moments of penitence! They carried him to the country, where they never quitted him till they saw him expire.

traordinary and most interesting events that have happened since the creation of the world ; who would bereave us of the noblest system of morality, the most sublime and amiable example, and the most magnificent and animating prospects which were ever presented to the hopes or the imagination of mankind !

But lest the people should feel some qualms of conscience, or should tremble at the anticipation of the punishment which awaits the wicked at the day of judgment, it was decreed, and engraved on the tombs of their fathers, that *death is an eternal sleep* ! The religion of reason was now proclaimed. But what sort of religion or of reason could that be, which declared as a principle that man is not immortal ; and consequently not accountable to God, the Judge of all, but becomes like a clod of the valley, consigned to eternal insensibility ? How degrading a doctrine ! how inconsistent with the character of man, and the goodness and wisdom of our heavenly Father !

Will it be believed by posterity, at whose bar the agents of the French Revolution must again be tried, will it be believed, that the legislators of a nation, which so long had been called Christian, did openly, in the face of the world, set up a prostitute to be adored as the goddess of reason ? Will it be believed, that it was necessary, in the

end of the 18th century of the Christian era, to proclaim the existence of God? Yet Robespierre thought this necessary. To the conduct of this unprincipled man many impious and immoral innovations are justly to be ascribed: But the plan for destroying religion is too systematic, too extensive, and has been too long continued since his death, to be attributed to him alone. The present government are still carrying on hostilities against it. In the month of October 1798, it was determined by the central administration of the Seine, that Paris should be divided into wards instead of parishes, and that the churches belonging to these should in future be called Temples, and be consecrated to Concord, to Genius, to Agriculture, to Old Age, to Youth, to Peace, to Labour, and other abstract words, which have never been deified except in poetry and heathen mythology *.

SECT. IV. *Of the Third Duty of Government.*

BESIDES preserving the capacity, and furnishing the means of knowledge and virtue, it is also the duty of every government to remove, as much

* See Propagateur of the 6th Brumaire, 7th year.

much as possible, all temptations to vice, to be more careful to prevent than to punish crimes.

It is the duty of every individual to promote the happiness of society as much as he can. But whatever is the duty of every man, must be the duty of every government, which is a combination of the power and wisdom of individuals to promote the common good. If it be the duty of parents to watch over the morals of their children, if it be the duty of masters to preserve their servants from vice, it must also be the duty of government, the parent and guide, the patron and protector of society, to preserve all her children from temptation. It is not enough that a government guard with vigilance the rights of the nation; it is not enough that it enter into war in defence of its manufactures, of its commerce, of its laws, of its liberty—it must also drive far away every source of temptation to licentiousness, to irreligion, to vice of every kind. One might venture with confidence to assert, that there is nothing which a government can do that is of half so much consequence to society as to preserve it from temptation. Remove temptations, and you will secure every right of man which man ought to possess; remove temptation, and you will prevent crimes more effectually than by severe laws and daily executions.

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I. Every father who performs his duty to his children will, with the most anxious vigilance, keep them from the contagious influence of irreligious, of immoral, of licentious publications; he will remove every book that tends to vitiate the imagination, to inflame the passions, or to harden the heart. Would not such a father do wisely? Is it possible that there exists a father who would recommend such books to his children, or could see them in their hands without regret? It is to be hoped there are but few such fathers. Can it then be improper for a government to prohibit the publication of writings which the wisest and most indulgent father would refuse to his children? There is no species of temptation, no mode of corruption, more easy, more powerful, or more ruinous, than immoral writings. To permit them to be disseminated with impunity, would be to licence teachers of iniquity, and to encourage those crimes which it is the principal end of laws to prevent. "Were a man (says the illustrious Fletcher of Salton) permitted to make all the ballads of a nation, he needed not to care who should make its laws." Men may descant in general terms upon the inestimable advantages of the liberty of the press; they may declaim with much eloquence against those restraints which might deter any individual from giving his sentiments freely upon every subject; still

still it is not the less true, that the abuse of liberty is dangerous. It is therefore the duty and interest of every individual to guard against it, as much as it is his duty and interest to guard against slavery and oppression. Indeed there is always more vice in a licentious than in an enslaved country. All extremes are to be avoided: we ought not surely, from the fear of falling into slavery, to plunge headlong into licentiousness. Tho' it is not consistent with liberty, that no work should be published until the approbation of government be received, yet it is no less incompatible with liberty, that permission should be given to publish books which would sap the foundation of religion and morality. Neither ought every book against religion to be prohibited; for many attacks upon religion, by calling forth reason in its defence, have been the means of exhibiting with new strength and brightness that religion which they wished to sully or overwhelm. Those only ought to be interdicted which are calculated to deceive and seduce, which address the passions, which excite to unreasonable dissatisfaction, and prompt to turbulence and insurrection. It is the duty then of every government to prohibit all books of a hurtful tendency; and the government which does not vigorously check this moral pestilence, will soon be swept away by the effects of the contagion.

France

France has suffered much from the licentiousness of the press. To this source all its calamities may be traced. It was the press which unhinged all the opinions which the experience of ages had established, and sent the whole nation to wander in the regions of fancy; it was the press which broke down the mounds which restrained the ravings of imagination, and confined falsehood and calumny, and overwhelmed France with seditious and immoral publications. Every insurrection which was raised by the Duke of Orleans and the Jacobins, every assassination and general massacre, every attack upon the king, was excited and fomented by the unbounded licentiousness of the press.

2. It is the duty of a government to prevent idleness and debauchery; because these are the springs from which crimes innumerable are derived. For this purpose public-houses ought to be placed under proper regulations; for many public-houses, and especially those called tippling-houses, are schools of vice, opened for the corruption of the young and unwary. It is in these haunts of dissipation that the seeds of crimes are sown, that the thief is formed for pilfering, the swindler for defrauding, and the robber for violence and murder. Public-houses, it is evident, are necessary for the accommodation of travellers, and sometimes for social meetings among friends.

friends. But for this purpose a much smaller number would be sufficient. Let only such a number be established in every town, village, or parish, as the clergy and justices of peace shall judge necessary. As public-houses would then be in some degree a monopoly, let them pay a considerable tax to government, and let the price of their commodities be fixed from time to time by an affize, as takes place in the case of bread. Then let the judicious regulation lately established in Ireland be adopted, that every town or parish permitting an unlicensed public-house to be kept within its bounds, shall be fined of a considerable sum, suppose L. 20 or L. 30, or more, according to the population of the district. Let this fine be rigidly exacted in a few cases, and every man will become a declared enemy to unlicensed public-houses. At the same time, let the conduct of the publicans be narrowly inspected, and let their license be withdrawn the instant it can be proved that they harbour disorderly company; and the publicans will become everywhere men of character. Thus the nation will be delivered from the greatest of all nuisances.

With the view of reforming the abuses incident to public-houses, much may be done, much has been done, by government, and I hope much will be done. But the government of France is prohibited by the Declaration of the Rights of

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Man from restraining any abuses of this nature. It would not, according to them, be adapted to the end of government ; for that reason it would be the usurpation of arbitrary power. Therefore, however numerous public-houses may become in France, and however hurtful to the morals of the people, there is no remedy left by the constitution.

3. A government ought to prevent the establishment of houses of bad fame. If it were possible to compute the number of unfortunate females that are seduced and involved in misery, and to reckon the number of the other sex that are brought to a premature death ; to estimate the crimes, the distress, the agonies of mind, and the wretchedness which prostitution produces—the heart, even of the profligate seducer, would shudder with horror. To restrain this vice in the present state of society is indeed difficult ; and unless government can do something, nothing can be done ; for a general disease requires a general cure. But however little government can do, that little ought to be done. Seduction might be severely punished, and great privileges conferred upon married persons. The seduction of a married woman is deemed a great crime ; and in all trials for adultery, our judges and juries act like dignified beings. But the seduction of an unmarried woman, though almost always attended with irretrievable infamy and ruin, is not

not punished as the atrocity and direful effects of it require. Something indeed has been done to put it in the power of unfortunate women to return to the path of virtue; for it is impossible to believe (human nature is not so depraved) that all unfortunate women are irretrievably abandoned.

In France the case is very different; for there the unlawful commerce between the sexes is not considered as a crime. Marriage, which under the wise and admirable regulations of the Christian religion has by all men of reflection and virtue been deemed one of the greatest blessings of society, has in France been almost abolished. Properly speaking, there are no marriages in France: it is concubinage, and not marriage, that prevails; for the connection, which is called a *union*, is dissolved upon the slightest grounds. In the year 1797, the number of marriages in Paris amounted to 6538, and the divorces to 1043*; that is, the divorces to the marriages as 1 to 6. Thus, under the pretence of raising the female sex to their rights and privileges, they have been degraded from that respectable rank which they deservedly hold in the civilized world: And from being esteemed the rational and moral com-

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* See Observations supposed to be published by Lord Auckland.

panion of man, the sweetener of all his enjoyments, the confidential and affectionate partner of all his distresses—woman is condemned to be the slave of caprice and of folly. Thus the delicate and refined sentiment of love is converted into a vulgar passion; the happiness of the married state is destroyed; the bond between parents and children, between brothers and sisters, is weakened, if not dissolved. The consequences of such a practice, established by law, is of the most pernicious nature, and would certainly in the space of a few years produce universal licentiousness.

4. Gaming is another vice very prejudicial to society. The loser is deprived of his property which ought to have supplied him with the necessaries and conveniences of life, and fitted him to be a useful member of society, either as a husband, a father, or a brother, or a man possessed of wealth and benevolent feelings, who had it in his power to contribute in some degree to the happiness of his fellow-creatures. Stripped of his property, he is often driven to the most dreadful expedients to retrieve what he has lost, or to free himself from the horrors of mind which his losses have produced. On the other hand, the winner gains a sum of money, not by virtuous industry, not by an honourable exertion of talents, but by studied artifices, by taking advantage of the young, the simple, and intoxicated.

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A man who gains a thousand pounds by a throw of the dice, or by a lucky deal at cards, is likely to squander it in extravagance and vice. Thus, whether a gamester lose or gain, he will probably acquire ruinous habits. Hence gaming is productive of crimes of the most atrocious nature. It hurries on the loser to theft, to forgery, to robbery, and suicide; it allures the gainer to deceit, dishonesty, and debauchery, and destroys all the principles of honour and duty. To repress such a crime is the duty of every government. In Great Britain many species of gaming are prohibited; and I hope yet to see it receive a mortal wound in the abolition of every thing that tends to cherish so dangerous a passion. The effects of the lottery upon the morals of the people are, in some places, too remarkable to escape observation. Mr Colquhoun, in his very valuable and interesting account of the Police of the City of London, has shewn the effects of the lottery to be such in that metropolis as to call for a speedy remedy.

Now if such be the consequences of gaming in a country where laws have been made to discountenance and punish it, what must be the case in France, where this vice was always more frequent than in Britain? It is indeed lamentable to observe in the last edition of Mr Colquhoun's Police of London, that gaming has gained much
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ground since French emigrants became so numerous in London. This is a strong proof that the French were much addicted to gaming, when even in a foreign country a few thousands of them can have so great influence. What dreadful consequences, then, may gaming not produce in France, if the passion for it should remain equally strong, where no restraints are laid upon it, and where it is not in the power of government to lay any?

Besides these four sources of corruption which have been mentioned, it would be easy to point out many others, which it is the duty, and consequently the interest, of every government to remove or diminish. Many regulations might be introduced into manufactories, which would tend to preserve sobriety and industry among the workmen. Many crimes might perhaps be prevented by reducing the criminal laws into a regular and connected system. That it is the duty of government, or, what is the same thing, the duty of the king and parliament, to introduce such improvements, is perfectly understood in this country; and there is reason to believe, that some respectable and well-qualified men are at present engaged in forming a plan for this purpose.

Having now considered, at some length, the ends of instituting a government, and having given a sufficient number of examples to illustrate these,

these, it must appear evident, that the plan of the French government, if formed upon their own definition, must be radically defective; for it is established with the narrow view of preserving the rights of man. The British government is constructed on a much more perfect plan; for it is instituted, and has long been carried on, not merely with the view of preserving what the French call the rights of man; but to increase the knowledge, the virtue, the industry, and happiness of the nation.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

OF LIBERTY.

IT will next be proper to examine the principal articles in the Declaration of the Rights of Man, that we may judge how far they are wise, or just, or beneficial to mankind.

According to the Declaration, the Rights of Man in society are, liberty, equality, security, and property. Each of these Rights of Man shall be considered in their order. First, then, we will consider the definition of liberty. The history of the opinions respecting it shall be given afterwards along with the history of equality.

“ART. III. Liberty consists in the power of doing that which does not injure another.”

It is not usual for those who possess any respect for religion, either natural or revealed, to class the Supreme Being under the general indefinite term *another*; therefore liberty, according to this definition, does not require men to abstain from committing crimes against God; neither, surely, can the word *another* comprehend one's self. Liberty therefore does not prohibit men from committing crimes against God, or from doing injuries to themselves. Hence it follows, according to the ideas of liberty taught in France, that a free man may be an infidel, a blasphemer,

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an atheist, a glutton, a drunkard; he may be idle and dissipated, he may perpetrate suicide; nay, there is no crime which it may not be lawful for him to commit, provided he does no injury to other men. Yet may there not be a propriety, as far as it can be done, to restrain individuals from ruining themselves? A father always thinks it so much his duty to preserve his children from ruin, that he is seldom averse to use severity if no other means can be effectual. There are few men, perhaps none, who would not wish to save their neighbour from destruction. If you saw a man going to throw himself headlong from the top of a precipice, would you not think it your duty to do every thing in your power to save his life? In like manner, if you saw a man going to take a dose of poison, would you not endeavour to prevent it? Now every man of the least observation knows, that intemperance and debauchery, and several other vices, will bring down the constitution, and cut a man off in the midst of his days as certainly as poison. Is it not then humanity, nay, is it not the bounden duty of every government, to stop men in the road to destruction?

By our laws, a vagrant, who has no apparent way of supporting himself, is liable to be apprehended. It may be said, that this is done to prevent men from injuring others. Be it so: it

is not the less true, that the best way to prevent men from injuring others is to prevent them from injuring themselves. British liberty may therefore be defined, the power of doing every thing which is not offensive to God, injurious to our neighbour or to ourselves. This is the liberty of the most perfect beings; the liberty of angels cannot be greater. It surely therefore cannot be too limited for frail and imperfect man.

“ART. IV. Every man is free to manifest his thoughts and opinions. The liberty of the press, and every other means of publishing his thoughts, cannot be interdicted, suspended, or limited.”

Without considering how far this article is agreeable to wisdom and rectitude, it might be sufficient to shew, that the Rights of Man may destroy one another. There is, for example, a glaring inconsistency between the third and fourth articles. “Liberty (we are told) consists in the power of doing that which does not injure another;” and afterwards it is added, “Every man is free to manifest his thoughts and opinions; and this liberty cannot be interdicted, suspended, or limited.” In France, therefore, while every man is forbidden to injure his neighbour, he is allowed to commit one very great species of injury: he may say what he pleases, and he may write what he pleases; he may forge falsehoods against men of the best character; he may de-
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same a whole body of men; he may slander the state; he may publish the most irreligious and immoral writings. But if you allow men to think what they please, and say what they think, how can you prevent them from doing what they please? That licentiousness of manners and of conduct always accompanies licentiousness of the press, is proved beyond the possibility of doubt by what has happened in France since the commencement of the revolution.

The French have decreed as one of the unalienable rights of man, that the liberty of the press cannot be interdicted, suspended, or limited: yet the Directory have interdicted, suspended, and limited the liberty of the press, in a manner which was never attempted but in the most tyrannical and despotic governments. Those whose duty it was to support the rights of man have violated the rights of man. They have prohibited all journals, all writings of every kind, which published any facts or opinions adverse to their designs or inclinations. They apprehended a great number of journalists or publishers of newspapers, merely because these men happened not to approve of their political conduct. They banished them, without a trial, to a distant part of the globe. At present, no journal or newspaper can be printed in France without the sanction of the Directory. Is this

to be called the liberty of the press? Is this the blessed liberty of France, which it was the wish of some to import into this country?

But the Directory went much farther. They not only prohibited certain writings from being published, but they forced their journalists to calumniate Great Britain, to publish the grossest slander and most contemptible falsehoods. They forced them to publish forged reports, accusing the people of Great Britain of a crime, at the thoughts of which every man of sensibility will be roused into indignation. They accused us of a crime hitherto unknown, I believe, in this country, the crime of inhumanity to our prisoners! Yet it appeared from the declaration of the most respectable men, nay, even from the examination of the prisoners themselves, that they have uniformly met with a degree of hospitality and kindness which would do honour to a friendly nation. Again, when our noble admirals gained decisive victories over the French and their allies, so much has the Directory suspended the liberty of the press, in order to gull the deluded people of France, that they have generally converted their defeat into a victory, while they held the rod of terror over the heads of those men who were able and willing to publish the truth.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

OF EQUALITY.

SECT. I. *History of the Opinions concerning Equality among the Philosophers and Free Masons.*

FOR several years past, the words *liberty and equality* have been in every body's mouth. They have been used as comprehending all that is desirable in human life; they have been the motto of the French nation, the watch-word to battle and to victory. They have been employed as a magical charm, which was to dispel every species of oppression, to create men of exalted character, and to form a government that should be the pride of France, and the glory of human nature. The French have accordingly looked down upon all other nations who did not possess this liberty and equality as the slaves of arbitrary power, as the vassals of haughty barons, as mere animals, possessing nothing of the privileges of human beings.

If liberty and equality be such illustrious blessings, if they are to be the means of raising human nature to higher dignity than it enjoyed before, then all nations ought to receive them with rapture and congratulation. But if they are such choice blessings, they must be worth exami-

examination; and the more they are examined, the more must their excellence be displayed. Let us then inquire at what time, and by what means, this important discovery of liberty and equality was made, which had hitherto been wrapt in obscurity. Let us examine by what men the discovery has been propagated, and what were the means which they employed. It will then be proper to analyse equality with as much accuracy as possible, and to delineate what it contains.

The celebrated Voltaire is the man to whom the French are in a great measure indebted for their new discoveries in religion and politics. He had formed and fully digested a plan, by which he hoped to destroy religion; and he had united himself with associates, who imbibed his opinions, and promoted his views. In the early part of his life he was attached to the interest of kings; and from the hope that they would second his projects against Christianity, he had recommended to his disciples to remain faithful subjects. But when he found that kings were not disposed to concur with him in his favourite plan, and that even the infidel Frederick refused to co-operate, he threw aside his loyalty, and became inclined to republicanism. Voltaire is therefore considered by his followers as the first person

person who paved the way to the French Revolution*.

Voltaire was not, however, the only man who led the way upon this subject. Montesquien had, in his *Spirit of Laws*, introduced several new opinions respecting politics, which had induced the French to believe that their constitution and government were radically wrong. He declared that, in order to be free, every man ought to be his own governor, and that the legislative power ought to reside in the whole body of the people. But as this is impossible in great states, and in small states would be subject to great inconveniences, he allowed it to be necessary that

* From the writings of Voltaire, it is evident that he had at times very bold ideas of equality floating in his mind. There is a very remarkable passage of this kind in the beginning of the sixth canto of his *Henriade*.

C'est un usage antique, et sacré, parmi nous
 Quand la mort sur le trône étend ses rudes coups,
 Et que du sang des rois si chers à la patrie
 Dans ses derniers canaux la source s'est tarie,
 La peuplè au même instant rentre en ses premiers droits;
 Il peut choisir un maître, il peut changer ses loix.
 Les états assemblés, organes de la France,
 Nomment un souverain, limitent sa puissance :
 Ainsi de nos ayeux les augustes decrets
 Au rang de Charlemagne ont placé des Capets.

the people should execute by their representatives what they cannot execute by themselves.

Rousseau availed himself of the opinions introduced by Montesquieu and Voltaire. He perceived, that the arguments which Voltaire had employed against Christianity were equally conclusive against a monarchical government. Voltaire had taught, that equality of rights and liberty of reason are incompatible with that power of the church and of the gospel which requires a belief in mysteries not discoverable by reason. When this doctrine was combined with the maxim of Montesquieu, that in every free government each individual must be his own governor, the necessary conclusion was, that there is no power on earth which has authority to govern men by laws, either civil or religious, to which they have not given their assent.

Accordingly Rousseau's fundamental principle is *, to find a form of association which will defend and protect with the whole aggregate force the person and property of each individual, and by which every person, while united with all, shall obey only himself, and remain as free as before. He gives it as his opinion, that the happiness of man consists in liberty and equality. "If we
"examine

* Social Contract, Book I. ch. vi.

“ examine (says he) in what the supreme happiness of all consists, and what ought to be the grand object of every legislature, it will appear to centre in these two points, liberty and equality. *In liberty*, because all private dependence is so much strength subtracted from the body of the state; *in equality*, because liberty cannot subsist without it †.”

The writings of Montesquieu, of Voltaire, and Rousseau, were read and admired not only in France but through all Europe. As their doctrines naturally bewitched the imagination of the inexperienced, they soon became very popular. Frederick II. of Prussia, who had for a long time conspired with the philosophers to abolish Christianity, when he saw their designs against established governments, took the alarm, and was at considerable pains to expose them in his Refutation of Diderot's System of Nature. “ The Encyclopedists (says he) reform all governments. France, according to their plans, is to form a great republic, and mathematicians are to be its legislators, who are to perform all the operations of the new republic by fluxions.” Again: “ The true sentiments of the author (Diderot), continues Frederick, are only to be dis-

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“ covered

† Social Contract, Book II. ch. ii.

“ covered toward the end of his work. There he
“ lays down as a principle, that subjects ought to
“ enjoy the right of deposing their sovereign
“ when they happen to be displeased with
“ him.”

The Encyclopedists, together with Helvetius, Raynal, Gudin, Condorcet, and many of the members of the D'Holbach club, carried these doctrines very far, and published every kind of production that could inspire men with romantic opinions concerning the happiness which a state of equality would bestow.

The same doctrines were propagated on the continent in the lodges of the free masons, especially in Germany and France. A long list of degrees had been devised, through which it was necessary to pass before access could be had to the great secrets of the association. The Abbé Baruel relates a very curious adventure, by which he came to the knowledge of these. For a long time he had been strongly urged by some free masons of his acquaintance to become one of the brotherhood ; but he obstinately resisted all their importunities, because he thought it wrong to bind himself by an oath to conceal a secret before he knew what that secret was. Finding it impossible by persuasion to overcome his resolution, they one day in a frolic, and without imposing any oath, initiated him into the several
ranks

ranks of apprentice, fellowcraft, and master *. They told him, that the grand secret of masonry could only be communicated in a regular meeting of the lodge, held with the usual ceremonies; and that he might have it in his power to attend the lodge, they gave him the signs and the passwords. One day that the secrets of the order were to be divulged to an apprentice with all the usual forms, the Abbé attended. After a great many ceremonies, which it is unnecessary to describe, the candidate was ordered to approach the venerable or grand master of the lodge. Then such of the brotherhood as were armed arranged themselves in two opposite lines, forming a kind of arch with their swords. The candidate walked under this arch to the end of the lodge, where an altar was erected; behind which, in a chair or throne, the Venerable was seated. The Venerable made a long speech to the candidate on the sanctity of the secret which was now to be revealed to him, and upon the danger of breaking the oath which he was about to take; he showed him the naked swords which were prepared to pierce the heart of traitors; and declared that it was impossible to escape vengeance. The can-

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didate

* *Memoires pour Servir a L'Histoire du Jacobinisme*, tom. ii. p. 271.

didate then swore a dreadful oath, praying that his head might be cut off, his heart and entrails torn out, and his ashes thrown to the wind, if ever he should betray the solemn secret. The Venerable then added, My dear brother, the secret of free masons consists in these words, "liberty and equality; all men are equal and free; all men are brethren."

To the two first degrees, those of apprentice and fellow-craft, the words liberty and equality were communicated as the secrets of masonry; but their whole signification was not disclosed. When one was raised to the rank of master, besides hearing repeated to him the words just now mentioned, his knowledge was farther extended. He was told an allegorical story about the death of Adoniram, which it was his duty to revenge; and was informed that the mason-word belonging to the degree of master had been lost, and that it was necessary to recover it. This Adoniram is said to have been overseer of the workmen who built the temple of Solomon. That the workmen might be paid according to their skill and dexterity, he divided them into the three classes of apprentice, fellow-craft, and master, and gave to each class a particular sign and pass-word, that he might distinguish them from one another.

Three men belonging to the rank of fellow-craft,

craft, who wished to have the wages of a master, as the story goes, took an opportunity, when Adoniram was in the temple by himself, to demand of him the master's pass-word. As Adoniram would not divulge the secret, they put him to death. This story was told to those who had been admitted to the degree of master; and they were farther informed, that the object of this degree, was to recover the masonic word which had been lost by the death of Adoniram, and to avenge the death of that martyr.

In the next degree, which was that of the *Elect*, the adepts were habituated to vengeance without knowing why; and were called upon to remember the patriarchal ages, when the only religion was that of nature, and every man a priest.

When the adepts were raised to the degree of Scotch knight, the meaning of the mysteries was more fully explained. Masons were then declared free; they were informed, that the word so long sought for in vain is *Jehovah*; and they were called the priests of *Jehovah*.

To the next degree, that of Rosicrucian knight, the person is discovered who had caused the masonic term *Jehovah* to be lost. How will the Christian, how will the good man, be astonished and shocked to hear, that the person accused of destroying the name of *Jehovah*, and of abolishing

ing the worship due to him, is the author of the Christian religion, Jesus Christ; that it is against that sacred personage the vengeance of the brethren, the priests of Jehovah, is to be directed! This language is so shockingly impious and malignant, that it is impossible to make any reflections.

The principles of the free masons were, if possible, still farther disclosed to those who were invested with the highest degree of masonry. But as the ceremonies peculiar to this degree were very remarkable, it will perhaps be gratifying to read the description of those which were practised at the admission of the Duke of Orleans.

This degree was called *Kadosh**, from a Hebrew word which signifies *consecration*, and sometimes *renovation*; because the intention of raising candidates to this degree was to renew human nature, and to restore it from slavery to liberty. The Duke of Orleans was introduced by five brethren into a dark room, at the farther end of which was the representation of a grotto full of bones, which were rendered visible by the glimmering of a sepulchral lamp. In a corner of this apartment stood an effigy decked with all the ensigns of royalty; near which was raised

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* *Histoire de la Conjuration du Duc D'Orleans,*

a double ladder. Orleans was ordered to stretch himself on the floor, to recount all the degrees and all the oaths which he had taken. He was then desired to rise, to mount to the top of the ladder, and to let himself fall. He did so; and was told that he had ascended to the highest step of masonry. Then, armed with a poignard, he was commanded to stab the effigy: blood immediately seemed to gush from the wound, which stained the floor. He was then required to cut off its head, and to hold it up in his right hand, while he brandished the poignard in his left. He was then told, that the bones which he had seen in the grotto were the bones of a grand master of the order of the Templars, and that the crowned effigy which he had stabbed and beheaded represented Philip-le-bel king of France.

The secrets belonging to this degree were very fitly represented by these symbolic actions. Orleans was informed that all men are equal; that no one ought to command another, nor be superior to him; that the sovereign power belongs to the people, who may give it to whom they please; that all religious worship performed to God is an absurdity, and all spiritual power an abuse and an outrage*.

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* *Histoire de la Conjuration, du Duc d'Orleans.*

It is not difficult to trace the connection between what Orleans acted in dumb show and the principles which he was now to imbibe. To these principles every thing was to be sacrificed. It was to be deemed a virtue to put to death even the best of kings, merely because he had not so highly respected the Utopian laws of equality as to resign the sovereign power. It was also to be reckoned a necessary part of liberty and equality to destroy all religious worship.

In the year 1787, France contained 280 towns, in which regular lodges were established under the direction of the Grand Master. In Paris there were 81, at Lyons 16, at Toulouse 10, and as many at Montpellier. The number of free masons in France at that period has been computed at 500,000 or 600,000. The lodge of Candor at Paris in its circular letter of the 31st of May 1782, reckoned them at a million. All these brethren were subject to the lodge of the *Grand Orient*, of which the Duke of Orleans was Grand Master. This lodge was a sort of Masonic parliament, composed of representatives from all the different lodges in the kingdom; in which all the affairs of the order were finally determined. It was divided into four committees: one of these was a secret committee; to which none had access except the members. The Grand
Orient

Orient issued its orders not only to the lodges in France, but also to those in Switzerland, the Netherlands, Germany, Poland, and Russia *.

Subject to the Grand Orient was a lodge called *The United Friends*, to which was entrusted all foreign correspondence. To this lodge none were admitted except those who were masters of all the philosophical degrees; that is, who had sworn hatred to kings, to Christianity, and to every religious worship. Savalette de Lange keeper of the royal treasury, and afterwards celebrated in the annals of the revolution, was a leading member. That the public attention might not be directed to this band of conspirators, magnificent balls were given at the lodge, while, at the same time, a secret committee held its sittings above the ball-room, plotting sedition and rebellion.

Besides these there were two other lodges, the members of which bore so great a part in the revolution, that it would be unpardonable to pass them over in silence. One of these lodges was called *The Nine Sisters*, and was composed of all those masonic brethren who assumed the name of philosophers: The other was denominated *The Lodge of Candour*, and consisted of those pro-

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fligate

* *Memoires pour Servir à L'Histoire du Jacobinisme.*

fligate noblemen who afterwards became traitors to their king.

In the lodge of the Nine Sisters, we find the Duke de la Rochefoucault, Condorcet, Brissot, Pastoret, Garat, the commander Dolomieu, Lacépède, Bailly, Camille Desmoulins, Cerutti, Fourcroy, Danton, Millin, Lalande, Bonne, Chateau Randons, Chenier, Mercier, Gudin, La Metherie, the Marquis de la Salle, Rabaud de St Etienne, and Petion. Many works published by this lodge respecting the constitution of the States General betrayed a revolutionary spirit, and an attachment to those doctrines of liberty, equality, and sovereignty of the people, which were afterwards propagated with zeal.

The Lodge of Candour, which consisted almost solely of nobility, contained the names of La Fayette, the two brothers Lameth, the Marquis de Montesquieu, Custine, La Clos the counsellor of Orleans, La Touche his chancellor, Silvery his creature, and D'Aiguillon, who afterwards made so hideous a figure on the 5th and 6th of October 1789 in the midst of the Poissards at Versailles.

But we must forbear to trace any farther the progress of equality in France, till we have surveyed with attention the great advances which it had made in another part of Europe.

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SECT. II. *Historical Account of the Illuminati.*

ON the 1st of May 1776, a new society was founded, which, for the nature of its principles, the extent of its views, the number of its resources, the secret methods by which it was propagated, the great and formidable influence which it acquired, and the effects which it produced, is the most extraordinary that is recorded in the annals of history. This society, which assumed the name of *Illuminati*, because it pretended to illuminate mankind, was planned and founded by Adam Weishaupt professor of canon law in the university of Ingoldstadt. This man was possessed of very extensive talents, which he had vigorously applied to the investigation of human nature. He had studied with great care the leading passions of men, their prejudices, their errors and infirmities, that he might discover the most easy and successful method of seducing them to his purposes. He was distinguished by a strong and persuasive eloquence, which he knew well how to vary according to the capacity and passions of his hearers. His morals were by no means rigid. He was guilty of adultery with his sister-in-law; and that he might not lose the authority which he had gained over his disciples, he made several attempts to destroy

the child. He was actuated by an ardent ambition, which nothing could restrain. In order to gain his favourite object, there was no labour which he refused to encounter, no danger at which he trembled, no crime from which he would revolt! Though bred in obscurity, and excluded from opportunities of rising to sovereign power, he had formed the astonishing plan, not of acquiring the government of a province or of a kingdom, but of founding a universal empire. This he proposed to accomplish, not by open force, nor by pretending to divine illumination, but by means more wonderful and apparently more difficult. He proposed to new model the opinions of mankind, and to sap the foundation of the whole system by which the world is governed. With this view all kingdoms and states were to be overturned, kings and princes were to be destroyed, and religion to be annihilated. Then, after a complete revolution should be effected in the opinions and principles of a considerable proportion of men, the Illuminati were to rise in arms, to crush those whom they could not convince*.

Weishaupt was one of those ambitious men who can labour with indefatigable diligence, and wait

* Discourse on the Mysteries.

wait many years with unwearied patience, for the gradual execution of their schemes. Like Mahomet, he devoted himself to retirement and meditation, for the purpose of arranging and perfecting his plans. In this employment five years of his life were spent *. He had observed the great success which the Jesuits derived from their unity and perseverance; and he had remarked how well the secret meetings of mason lodges were adapted for the propagation of opinions. It occurred to him, that if he could combine the government of the Jesuits with the secrecy of the free masons, his plans would infallibly succeed. He therefore proposed to discipline, to embody, and send over the globe, armies of Illuminati, who were to undermine every government and religion, while he, seated on his imperial throne, wrapped in mystery, and darkness, and silence, should animate, direct, and controul, the conduct of every individual.

The means by which he proposed to acquire this universal empire were secret societies. These he divided into two classes. The first class, which was merely preparatory, was intended as a school of discipline and probation, which might accustom the members to secrecy, and gradually form
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* *Memoires pour Servir à l'Histoire du Jacobinisme.*

in them those opinions, principles, and habits, which might qualify them for carrying into execution the plans which were afterwards to be disclosed to them when they should be promoted to the second class.

The first class consisted of four degrees; Novice, Minerval, Illuminatus Minor, and Illuminatus Major. There was also added an intermediate degree between the first and second class, called Scotch Knight or Directing Illuminee, borrowed from masonry, and found very useful for connecting the lodges of free masons with the sect of Illuminism.

The second class was also divided into four degrees, that of Presbyter or Priest, Regent or Prince, Magus or Philosopher, and Rex or King.

Attached to the order was an office called Brother Infinator. As the success of the order depended entirely upon the cunning and vigilance of the persons exercising this office, certain of the brethren were trained to it with care. Weisshaupt proposed to select for this apostolic commission either weak men who would implicitly obey his orders, or men of abilities who could improve the office by artifices of their own. It was, however, a duty which every brother was obliged to exercise once or twice in his life, under the penalty of being for ever condemned

demned to the lower degrees. The Infinuators were to visit the different towns, provinces, and kingdoms, that they might seduce all men whose character and situation in life would fit them for promoting the views of the order.

To stimulate the ardour of the Brother Infinator, he was appointed superior over every novice whom he should convert. To assist him in practising the art of seduction, he was particularly instructed in three important points; the description of men whom it was proper to select, the arts which he ought to employ for alluring these, and the means best adapted to form their character.

Weishaupt had digested his plan of seduction with much skill. He proposed first to select those who were qualified to propagate the doctrines of the order; as teachers of every description, masters of academies, professors, schoolmasters, tutors, clergymen; also authors, especially those who were tinctured with the principles of infidelity; printers and booksellers, who might print and circulate the books which such men should publish, or the order might recommend. Next, he wished to gain over all persons holding civil offices, that by their assistance the political power of the order might be extended; then he was anxious to seduce opulent men, who might contribute their wealth for the propagation of his doctrines;

doctrines; also young men from eighteen to thirty, of all ranks, who might be trained up as tools of the order; and, lastly, the common people in every quarter.

That this association might be concealed from the view of princes and governments, it was to assume different names in different places; sometimes that of free masons, and at other times that of literary societies. Every member was to receive a new name, to be taught a new geography and a new calendar, and to correspond with his superiors in cypher or hieroglyphics.

While the young adept was passing through the degrees of preparation, every method was employed to inspire him with veneration for the order, and to teach him implicit obedience.

He was accustomed to hear constant declamations upon the excellence of the order; and a mysterious silence was observed to him respecting the superiors of the first rank. Obedience was imposed upon him by ceremonies which impressed the imagination and inspired terror; by oaths which bound his conscience; and by enuring him to actions which tended to produce habits of servile submission. He was also led by slow steps to infidelity, to hatred against kings and against all established governments.

It is unnecessary to describe minutely all the ceremonies which were performed when an adept

dept was promoted from one degree to another, all the questions which were put to him, or the lessons which he was taught. All these things are detailed with much accuracy and elegance in the Abbé Baruel's interesting Memoirs of Jacobinism, and in the work intitled, Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe; the valuable production of a gentleman, whose name deservedly stands in the first rank among the disciples of the illustrious Newton.

There is, however, one grand artifice which, on account of the extraordinary depth of invention which it discovers, it would be improper to pass over in silence. Before an adept was promoted to the degree of Illuminatus Major, a code, called by the order *NOSCE TE IPSUM* (know thyself), was presented to him. This is a catechism, containing from 1,000 to 1,500 questions concerning his person, the state of his health, the nature of his education, his opinions, his inclinations, his passions, his habits, his prejudices, his weaknesses, and vices. Nothing is omitted in this catechism that can tend to delineate and distinguish the character. The adept is obliged even to enumerate his favourite colours, to describe his gait, his gestures, his language, and conversation, and to answer a great many similar questions respecting his friends, his relations, and

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enemies. Reserve and dissimulation would be vain, for his character is already thoroughly scrutinized by numberless spies. When Weishaupt has obtained a minute answer to all these questions in writing, he triumphantly exclaims "Now I hold him, I defy him to hurt us; if he should wish to betray us, we have also his secrets *."

In the preparatory degrees, every care is taken that nothing may appear but the purest and most noble principles; while at the same time very opposite principles are instilled by artful insinuations. The object of the order is declared to be to diffuse the pure truth, and to make virtue triumph. The true principles of the order are unfolded to the second class, to the Priests, to the Regents, to the Magi, and Reges.

When an adept is to be promoted to the rank of Priest, he is blindfolded, and along with the person who is to introduce him to the initiators, he is put into a carriage, the windows of which are darkened. The coachman takes a circuitous road; and after many windings and turnings, which it is impossible for the adept afterwards to trace, he is conducted to the temple of the mysteries. His guide strips him of the badges of masonry which he wore as a knight, removes the

* Original Writings.

the bandage from his eyes, presents him with a drawn sword ; and having strictly enjoined him not to advance a step till he is called, leaves him to the wanderings of imagination, and to the powerful influence of hope and fear. At length he hears a voice saying, " Come, enter, unhappy fugitive, the fathers wait for you ; enter, and shut the door after you*." He then advances into the temple, where he sees a throne with a rich canopy rising above it ; and before it, lying upon a table, a crown, a sceptre, a sword, some pieces of gold and precious jewels interlaid with chains. At the foot of the table, on a scarlet cushion, he sees a white robe, a girdle, and the simple ornaments of the sacerdotal order. He is required to make his choice of the attributes of royalty or of the white robe. If he choose the white robe, which it is expected he should do, the Hierophant or Instructor thus addresses him : " Health and happiness to your great and noble soul, such was the choice we expected from you : But stay, it is not permitted you to invest yourself with that robe until you have heard to what we now destine you."

The candidate is then ordered to sit down : the book of the Mysteries is opened, and the brethren

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* See Baruel's Memoirs of Jacobinism.

ren listen in silence to the voice of the Hierophant. He then reads a long discourse ; in which he gives a splendid description of the state of the world when there were no kings, nor governments, nor property ; when liberty and equality reigned without controul. He bewails the change that took place when property started into existence, when arts and sciences began to flourish, when a distinction of ranks and civil associations were established ; because then liberty was ruined, and equality disappeared. Having thus magnified the savage state, and condemned all civil institutions, he proceeds to point out how the grievances of the human race (that is, the blessings of society) may be removed. This is to be done by secret societies, which have been in all ages the archives of nature, and of the *Rights of Man*. By their means princes and nations shall disappear, and Reason (that is, the reason, or rather will, of individuals) shall be the only book of laws, the sole code of man. Secret societies are to accomplish this great end by morality. But what morality can that be which would lead men to destroy laws, religion, and society, and thus to attempt to overturn the moral government of God ? The Hierophant says, that " it is not that morality which would throw men into a state of pusillanimity and despair, by
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the threats of hell and the fear of devils *.”—Reader, can you restrain your indignation, when you hear of a species of morality so benevolent and so mild, that it refuses to disturb the conscience of the wicked by the apprehensions of a judgment to come?

When the discourse of the Hierophant is ended, the candidate is led to the porch of the temple, where he is robed with a white tunic and a broad scarlet belt of silk. The sleeve, which is wide, is tied at the middle and the extremities with bandages of the same colour †. He is then recalled, and questioned whether he gives an implicit assent to all the doctrines which he has heard, and is still ready to obey the most excellent superiors? He is then elected to the Priesthood (what a perversion of

* See Discourse of the Hierophant for the Degree of Priest. See also *Memoirs of Jacobinism*, and *Proofs of a Conspiracy*, &c.

† The Abbé Barnet mentions a fact respecting this dress, so extraordinary, that it must shock, not only every Christian, but every man who believes in a God. During the French Revolution, a comedian appeared on the stage in a similar dress, openly bidding defiance to Almighty God. “No! thou dost not exist. If thou hast power over the thunderbolts, grasp them; aim them at the man who dares set thee at defiance in the face of thy altars! But no! I blaspheme thee, and I still live! No! thou dost not exist!”—Barnet’s *Memoirs*, vol. III. chap. x.

of terms!) with the same formalities which bishops employ in ordination! He is next presented with a cap, and thus addressed, "Cover thyself with this cap, it is more valuable than the crown of kings." Then follows a sacrilegious mockery of the most sacred rite of the Christian religion, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper*.

A Christian would imagine that liberty and equality, anarchy and atheism, had been already inculcated with sufficient plainness. In the succeeding degrees, however, these doctrines are taught more explicitly. The Magus is told, that all religions are chimerical, the inventions of ambitious men; and the Rex is informed, that every inhabitant of the country or town, every father of a family, is possessed of sovereign power.

The government of the order was formed into a regular system, in which the most rigid despotism was exercised, and the strictest subordination required. The superiors expected that all their disciples should look upon them as men whose understanding was perfectly enlightened, and whose judgment was infallible. Though the avowed enemies of a diversity of ranks in society, they had introduced a greater diversity of ranks, and permitted less liberty and less equality

* Last Works of Philo and Spartacus.

lity than the most tyrannical government that ever existed. Besides the eight degrees, which have been already described, there was a number of offices, rising above one another, which bestowed great power. There was a Scotch Directory, a Provincial Directory, a National Directory, the Counsel of the Areopagites, and the General of Illuminism. This last office, which was the highest of the order, the ambitious Weishaupt had reserved for himself.

The rapidity with which the Illuminati propagated their anarchical and impious doctrines, must excite astonishment, indignation, and regret, in the breast of every good citizen and every good man. Before Illuminism had been three years founded, Weishaupt boasted that he had gained a thousand proselytes. Among others, he had seduced all his own pupils. Thus, while parents entrusted their children to his care, and flattered themselves with the hope of receiving them again fully instructed in the important principles of law, Weishaupt sent them home corrupted in their opinions and debauched in their principles, the enemies of their country, of law, and government; as a band of conspirators determined to sow sedition and infidelity wherever they went.

Among the converts were many professors of colleges, masters of the post office, and officers
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in the civil departments of most of the different courts in Germany ; but, above all, his artifices were directed to the lodges of the free masons. He considered the free masons as game which nature had marked out to him, as an army sufficiently drilled and disciplined, instructed in all the manœuvres and evolutions of his system, and wanting nothing but initiation into his mysteries to diffuse the empire of Illuminism over the world. Animated by these hopes he became a free mason, and persuaded the Areopagites to do the same. Being now introduced into the lodges, he began to exercise his seductive arts ; but for a time his success did not correspond with the ardour of his expectation. The opposition of the Rosicrucians, who beheld with jealousy and resentment a new society rising to eclipse them, retarded his progress.

But while brooding in secret over his disappointed hopes, the demon of Illuminism sent a messenger to console and encourage him. This was a Hanoverian baron called Knigge, whose life and education had formed him for mysteries, for seduction, and conspiracy. He was not, like Weishaupt, cool, patient, and deliberate ; nor could he like him plot schemes of mischief which others were to execute, and wait many years for their gradual accomplishment. He was of a restless and ardent temper ; his projects were no
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sooner formed than he became eager to see them accomplished. Nor could he brook the idea of leaving to the management of others the schemes which he had the ability to devise: he wished himself to be the grand agent of all his machinations. Weisshaupt had passed his life in the habits of a college. Knigge, on the other hand, was a man of the world, and seems to have possessed a good deal of address*. From his earliest years he had a strong propensity towards secret societies. He had passed through all the degrees of masonry, and had studied all their cabalistic mysteries with a superstitious ardour. He had then devoted himself to the study of those absurd doctrines which have been taught by men who call themselves philosophers. He was successively a Roman Catholic, a Protestant, and a deist. Such was the man who was destined to be the accomplice of Weisshaupt, and one of the chief apostles of Illuminism.

In the year 1781, a general assembly of masons, consisting of deputies from all parts of the world, was held at Willemshad, under the protection of the Duke of Brunswick and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. The meeting of this assembly suggested to Knigge a plan of forming

* See Dr Robison's Proofs of a Conspiracy.

masonry into a regular system, of uniting together the whole brotherhood, and then extending their influence over the world. Happening to be in a lodge at Franckfort on the Maine, he met with the Marquis of Constanza, a counsellor of Munich, and an apostle of Illuminism; to whom he chanced to mention the project which he had formed. Constanza told him that a society already existed which perfectly coincided with his views. Knigge received the information with astonishment and joy, was immediately initiated, and became the most zealous, active, and successful of all the innumerable.

He entered with eagerness into Weishaupt's proposal of illuminizing the free masons; and aided that projector in modelling the code of the order, so as to facilitate their seduction. Knigge (distinguished among the Illuminati by the name of Philo) repaired to Willemshad to watch the motions of the congress, and to embrace such opportunities as might occur to advance the influence of Illuminism. He persuaded great numbers that he had obtained the key which could unlock all their mysteries. The deputies flocked to him, soliciting admission; and Knigge, convinced that a long noviciate was unnecessary for such adepts, admitted them to the degrees of Priest and Regent; which, according to the account given by himself, they all received with enthusiasm.

enthusiasm and rapture †. Those lodges which permitted themselves to be illuminized were called Eclectic.

The progress of Illuminism was now rapid. Its contagious principles spread their baneful influence through Bavaria, Franconia, and Swabia, the Higher and Lower Rhine, Upper and Lower Saxony. Westphalia swarmed with priests and Minerval schools; Vienna and Berlin were deeply tainted; Tyrol had received the infection, and Italy was in danger. The lodges of Brussels, the towns of Holland and Livonia, were violently attacked; and preparation was making to import this pestilence into Britain.

The masonic assembly had appointed a new congress to meet in the ensuing year at Willemabad. In the mean time, a committee was named to digest a code of laws for the brethren, while other members were instructed to get themselves initiated into the mysteries of all the secret societies. Alarmed at the consequences which he foresaw might arise to his splendid prospects from this commission, Knigge was impatient to sound the disposition of the commissioners. The chief of these was Bode, a privy councillor of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel; a man

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† Last Observations of Philo.

distinguished for abilities, which he perverted to impiety; a zealous free mason, petulant, fiery, and jealous of power, yet fond of being caressed by princes. He was the son of a private soldier, and for some time a fifer in a regiment. He afterwards set up as a bookseller at Hamburg; where, having the good-fortune to marry a rich heiress, he was created counsellor of Embassy by the Duke of Weimar, and at length privy counsellor to the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. He had been forty years a mason, and possessed great influence over the German lodges*. This was the man whom of all others Knigge was anxious to gain; and Bode was still so eager after mysteries, that Knigge found no difficulty in converting him to Illuminism. He was raised at once to the degree of Scotch knight, and readily agreed to co-operate with Knigge in his great plan of illuminizing the masonic lodges. He engaged to avail himself of the trust reposed in him, and to give such a form to the new masonic code as should place the government of the lodges in the possession of the Illuminati. He promised to install the Illuminati in the principal offices in the lodges, and to fraternize as many free masons as he could influence. By his intrigues, seconded
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* *Memoirs of Jacobinism*, vol. iv.

by the exertions of the indefatigable Knigge, the greater number of the lodges in Germany were illuminized.

The astonishing success which had crowned the labours of Knigge at length roused the jealousy of the ambitious Weishaupt. He was afraid that the ascendancy of the Hanoverian baron would divide the empire of Illuminism, and thus destroy that unity which was necessary to ensure success. He expressed much apprehension lest, among the new converts who had been suddenly raised to the highest mysteries, there might be some individuals who had not acquired those principles and habits which the order demanded; and that such persons might therefore expose him to detection, and blast the flattering prospects on which he had dwelt with triumph. He accused Knigge also of corrupting and weakening his mysteries by alterations of his own, and of intending to found a new secret society. He even proceeded to deprive this active accomplice of the direction of his provinces, and to subject him to the authority of one of his own pupils. Knigge was humbled, disappointed, grieved, and provoked. He complained, he made concessions, he remonstrated, he threatened, he promised, but in vain; the haughty patron of liberty and equality could brook no equal, and would permit no rival. Knigge was therefore obliged

ged to abandon the order; which he did, according to his own account, in the month of June 1784*.

Whether the exultation of success had made the Illuminati lay aside their former caution and reserve, or their increasing numbers had exposed them to the public eye, it is difficult to say; but the court of Bavaria began at length to entertain unfavourable suspicions of them. In 1781, some enquiries had been made, but they were quashed by the influence of the Illuminati. Reports, however, continued to circulate, which, though they did not furnish decisive evidence of the spirit and principles of the sect, were yet sufficient to show the danger of secret cabals. An edict was published in June 1784, prohibiting all secret societies which were not permitted by law. The Illuminati, however, continued their meetings in defiance of the edict, and answered in writing every attack that was made upon them. Weisshaupt conducted himself with much audacity, encouraged the brethren to perseverance and secrecy, and employed himself in contriving artifices to impose upon the Elector. Yet none of these things availed him; his disobedience to the edict was sufficiently known, and he was dismissed from his professorship at Ingolstadt.

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* Baruel's Memoirs of Jacobinism.

Soon after, new discoveries were made, which exposed to public view the projects and principles of the Illuminati. It appeared, that a year or two before, some gentlemen had abandoned the order, alarmed and disgusted with the doctrines which they heard inculcated. Among these were the aulic counsellor Utnscheider, Mr Cofandey, and the Abbé Renner, Professors of Humanity, and Mr Grunberger of the Academy of Sciences at Munich. These gentlemen being examined upon oath, made depositions which confirm the account already given of the principles and designs of the order. They declared, that the adepts were trained up according to the following principles: 1. When Nature lays too heavy a burden upon us, it is to suicide we are to apply for relief: *Patet exitus, The door is open*, was their cant phrase. 2. The end sanctifies the means. 3. No prince can save the man who dares to betray us. 4. All kings and priests are traitors and rascals. They converted this proverb into verse,

*Tous les rois et tous les prêtres
Sont des fripons et des traîtres.*

5. The adept, who wishes to rise to the highest degrees, must be free from all religion. 6. One must be more submissive to the superiors of Illuminism than to sovereigns and magistrates. 7.

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The love of one's prince and country are incompatible with the ultimate ends of the order.

These are principles so directly opposite to truth and reason, so inconsistent with every idea that has hitherto been received of religion, of morality, and of honour, and so evidently pernicious in their tendency to the peace, to the order, to the existence of society, that posterity will perhaps be unwilling to believe that there ever existed such monsters in the form of human beings, as to be capable of conceiving or disseminating such principles.

The depositions were no sooner published by order of the Elector, than they were attacked with all the sophistry, calumny, and violence, which the adepts among the Illuminati could so copiously command. An attempt was made to throw a veil of suspicion over the character of the Elector and his ministers, and to arraign their justice and veracity. It was therefore necessary that stronger proof should be sought and obtained. Unfortunately the papers of Weishaupt had not been seized; but there were other adepts still within the dominions of the Elector, whose cabinets might throw some rays of light upon this dark conspiracy. Accordingly, on the 11th of October 1786, magistrates were ordered to make a strict search in the house of Zwack at Landshut; others visited the castle of Sanderdorf,

dorf, belonging to Baron Baffus, a native of Switzerland, and celebrated in the annals of Illuminism. By these visitations a complete discovery was made of the whole plans of the order. A multitude of letters, discourses, rules, plans, and statutes, were found, which were afterwards published under the title of Original Writings of the Order and of the Sect of the Illuminati. It was from these archives of the order that the Abbé Baruel, with much ability, with an ardent and honourable perseverance, has collected the very full and satisfactory history of the order which he has given in his valuable Memoirs of Jacobinism.

In these Original Writings, these records of villany, a shocking depravity of character is exhibited; such depravity as has seldom polluted the annals of history. There were some scraps of paper found, containing very extraordinary receipts, written in the cipher of the order, and chiefly in the hand-writing of Massenhausen, named Ajax, and a counsellor at Munich. There were receipts for making the aqua toffana, the most powerful of all poisons; for procuring abortions, and for poisoning with fumes the air of an apartment. There was also found a collection of 130 seals of princes, noblemen, and bankers, with the secret of imitating and taking off all those for which the order might

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have occasion. Besides several other detestable papers of the same kind, a proposal was found, that all the superiors should learn to write with both hands.

When Weishaupt was dismissed from his professorship at Ingolstadt, he retired to Ratisbon, where he carried on his conspiracy with more ardour than before. But on the discovery of the Original Writings of the order, a price was set upon his head, and the regency of Ratisbon no longer ventured to support him. He then made his escape to the court of the Duke of Saxe Gotha, who received him under his protection, and gave him a pension. Twenty of the conspirators were summoned; some of them were dismissed from their employments, and others condemned to a few years imprisonment*.

The chiefs of the order were now dispersed; but the sect was not destroyed. They were safe as soon as they reached the confines of Bavaria; for the other princes of Germany, though they had received incontestible proofs of the existence and extent of the conspiracy, instead of combining against the adepts, received them as virtuous exiles, whom it was their duty to protect. Many of the princes were duped by the
Illuminati,

* Baruel's Memoirs of Jacobinism.

Illuminati, who initiated them into the mysteries, after pruning them of every thing offensive ; others were deceived by the adepts, who had artfully insinuated themselves into their councils and offices of trust.

Safe in their respective asylums, the chiefs renewed their intrigues : But, in order to elude detection, Zwack proposed, that the ablest of those brethren, whose names were still unknown, should occupy the seats of the founders, get rid of the discontented, and restore the society to its former vigour. They began their new plans, by endeavouring to persuade the world that the order was extinct, and that no farther intercourse was carried on by its members. To avert the attention of the public from this association, Bode and the other adepts circulated, with great diligence, the opinion, that all the mason lodges were under the direction of the Jesuits except the Eclectic lodges, where the Illuminati presided. The name of Jesuit was so exceedingly odious to the brethren, that rather than bear the imputation of being connected with that proscribed order, they abandoned their former lodges, and flocked to the lodges of the Eclectic Masons.

Meanwhile, the evil genius of Illuminism had prepared an accomplice who surpassed Weishaupt in impiety, and was not inferior to him

in hatching schemes of iniquity. This was Bahrdt a doctor of divinity at Halle. He proposed that the adepts should assume the government of the literary world; and that no books should for the future be published, or at least circulated, except such as might promote the views of the order. A powerful confederacy, called the GERMAN UNION, was therefore established, under the government of twenty-two adepts, whose chief employment was to seduce authors and booksellers. Literary societies, or reading clubs, were to be erected in every town, which should be furnished with libraries composed of those books which the order approved. It was also proposed to publish gazettes and journals, and to blast the character of every periodical paper, and of every book which did not concur with their projects. To accomplish these, extensive funds were to be established.

In this tyrannical plan of diffusing the doctrines of liberty and equality, Bahrdt was powerfully seconded by Nicholai, a bookseller at Berlin, and so favourite a disciple of Weisshaupt, that he had distinguished him by the name of Lucian. This man had for a long time carried on an extensive traffic in books of an impious and seditious nature. He had acquired much influence over the German booksellers by his great commerce, and enjoyed a high degree of power over authors by
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the employment which he gave them, and the rank which he had it in his power to bestow upon them in his periodical publications. In his *Universal German Library*, and *Berlin Journal*, he disseminated his vicious doctrines; he abused, in the grossest manner, every production in favour of virtue and religion, and lavished unbounded applause on those authors who pleaded the cause of Illuminism. Bode also published a gazette; other Illuminati followed the example: and gazettes continued to multiply, till at length Germany was overpowered with a host of destructive publications. It is said that all the periodical works in Germany, except two or three journals, were in the hands of the confederacy and their associates.

While by such publications attempts were made to corrupt the opinions of men, the other sources of instruction were not left uncontaminated. The conspirators concealed their poison under every form, and blended it with every delicious potion that could enable it to impose upon the unsuspecting. They infused their false principles into history under the garb of truth; they adorned them with the charms of poetry, that they might fascinate the imagination; they scattered them through romances and novels; they taught them in songs; they exhibited them in dramatic performances. But while such productions

ductions were circulated with indefatigable zeal by most of the booksellers in Germany, it was scarcely possible to find a printer or a bookseller who would print or publish any books written with the design of confuting the doctrines and exposing the plans of the *Germanic Union*. If an author printed his papers at his own expence, the booksellers never offered them to sale; or the printer communicated the manuscript to the chiefs of the confederacy, and the refutation was advertised on the back of the book.

There was one remarkable instance of this species of villany. Dr Stark of Darmstadt, who had the merit of discovering and exposing the Germanic union, had written a vindication of himself, in opposition to a malicious charge brought against him by Nicholai. He sent his papers to Walther, an eminent bookseller at Leipzig, who readily undertook to publish them; but Walther was illuminized, and therefore no friend to such writings. Six weeks elapsed, and not a sheet was thrown off. Walther pretended that the delay was occasioned by an exceptionable passage, which he wished to have altered: Another exceptionable passage occasioned a second delay: Then paper was wanting. At length, when he found that the patience of the author was exhausted, the printing of the work immediately commenced; but with great alterations,

a new title, and a guide or key written by Dr Bahrdt, in which the whole was misrepresented or turned into ridicule. Dr Stark immediately brought an action against Walther, and obtained an interdict against the spurious edition. Walther then became bound to print a genuine edition. But when this edition was carried to the next fair, it appeared that the bookfellers were already supplied with the spurious edition, accompanied by Bahrdt's guide *.

At length the licentiousness of the press became so flagrant, so great a multitude of seditious and impious publications were annually disseminated, that it was necessary for the government to interpose its authority. Frederick III. of Prussia issued an edict, to promote uniformity of religious worship in his dominions. The Illuminati had the effrontery to attack with insolence the authority of the prince and the religion of the state; and such was their influence, that it was scarcely possible to get the king's edict sold among his own subjects. A work ascribed to Bahrdt was published, in which the royal mandate was treated with contempt and ridicule. This open defiance of government could not be overlooked; Bahrdt was immediately apprehended, and punished

* Dr Robison's Proofs of a Conspiracy.

nished with a short imprisonment. When liberated, he was reduced to the necessity of keeping a tavern or coffee house at Baffendorf, near Halle, where he ended his days in indigence and misery *. His papers, which were seized, brought to light the whole conspiracy ; but the court did not think it proper to publish them. What part Weishaupt acted in this association is uncertain ; but it appears that he twice attended the head quarters of the united brethren, and that he spent several days in the company of Bahrdt.

Thus the power of the Illuminati was checked a second time ; but it was by no means crushed. Secret societies are like subterraneous fire, which may disappear and seem to be extinguished, while in the mean time it is spreading rapidly, and gaining such irresistible force, that it will soon burst forth in a volcano to overwhelm the surrounding country in ruin and desolation.

HAVING now traced the history of Illuminism to the period of the French revolution, we shall follow it in its progress to France, where it produced convulsions more terrible than in Germany. Weishaupt and Knigge had formed the plan of disseminating their system in France so early as the year 1782 ; but the execution of the project
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* Baruel's Memoirs of Jacobinism.

was deferred. It was afterwards renewed by an accident, which it will now be proper to relate. The Marquis de Mirabeau, a man as distinguished for every species of profligacy as for an overweening vanity and showy talents, happening to be at Brunswick during his embassy at Berlin, met with Mauvillon, a disciple of Knigge, and professor in the Caroline college. By this man he was initiated into all the mysteries of Illuminism. Upon his return to France, Mirabeau was anxious to introduce his new mysteries among his masonic brethren. His first pupil was the Abbé Talleyrand de Perigord; whose infamous character has been as much blackened by the pencil of truth, as the character of others by the pen of calumny. The Marquis was persuaded, that the season was now arrived when France might be illuminized; but not being himself sufficiently skilled in the arts of Infinator, he requested that the Illuminati would send a special deputation from the order to the French lodges. This commission was of so great importance, that it could only be entrusted to the most accomplished adepts. Accordingly Bode, who was now one of the chiefs of the order, was appointed to this office. Another deputy was joined to him as an associate, the Baron de Busche, a captain in the Dutch service, a pupil of Knigge's, and a man of superior abilities.

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These two deputies arrived in Paris about the time of the convention of the first Assembly of the Notables, which met on the 22d February 1787*. This was the most favourable season that could possibly have happened for the reception and dissemination of Illuminism in France. The doctrines of liberty and equality had already been too successfully diffused among the free masons, and nothing was wanting to consummate the mystery of iniquity but the higher doctrines of Weisshaupt.

The German brethren, as the two deputies were named in France, were received with open arms by the committee of the United Friends; where also assembled, upon appointed days, all the elect of the other chief lodges, of the lodge of Candour, of the lodge of the Nine Sisters, and the most enlightened adepts belonging to the secret committees of the Grand Orient. The dark transactions of these conspirators have not been fully divulged; it is well ascertained that the resolution was at length adopted, that the mysteries of Illuminism should be introduced into the French lodges under a masonic form, and that they should all be illuminized, without knowing even the name of the sect whose doctrines they had

* Baruel's Memoirs of Jacobinism.

had adopted. At the same time a new degree was introduced into the lodges, the mysteries attached to which were entirely copied from the discourse of the Hierophant upon the admission of the inferior Illuminati to the degree of priest. The reader will recollect, that in this discourse Weishaupt had condensed all his false and pernicious doctrines. This was the declamatory harangue which proposed to restore men to the liberty and equality of wandering savages; which predicted that, by the power of secret societies, kings and nations should disappear; which condemned the love of our country, and of our relations, as an ignoble passion; which inculcated sedition, rebellion, and treason, as the most excellent morality; and which taught, that reason (that is, the reason of the Illuminati) should henceforth be the religion of man.

Illuminism now began to spread its light, or rather *darkness visible*, over the land of France. Its light was like the sulphureous flames of a volcano, which precede the eruption that is to desolate the fertile country around. The system of masonry is now completely changed. The suggestion which the arch conspirator Weishaupt put into the mouth of the Hierophant, that his disciples were to acquire strength by gaining over the multitude, is now adopted. Lodges are multiplied over all France, and the lowest of the

people are admitted. The suburbs of St Antoine and St Marceau are crowded with lodges composed of porters and labourers. The peasantry are corrupted in country lodges with the new fascinating doctrines of liberty and equality; and the Duke of Orleans initiates the French guards, whom he afterwards employed in destroying the Bastile, and in storming the palace of his sovereign and relation.

But besides the great number of lodges which abounded in France, it now swarmed with clubs and literary societies on the plan of the Germanic Union; all of which transmitted their resolutions to the committee of correspondence of the Grand Orient. Thus the power of the leaders of the Grand Orient, the Duke of Orleans, Mirabeau, Condorcet, Syeyes, &c. became absolute in France. They issued their orders to all the lodges in the kingdom, and compelled the Venerables to give their oath that they would faithfully perform them. By their secret influence the insurrection of the 14th of July 1789 was excited; and by the same influence they got themselves and their associates returned members of the States General from the Electoral Assemblies.

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SECT. III. *Historical Account of the Jacobins.*

AMIDST the innumerable clubs, societies, and lodges, with which France abounded, our attention is necessarily directed to one which soon obtained sovereign power over all the rest, overturned the ancient monarchy, and introduced all the calamities which have overwhelmed France. This was at first known by the name of the *Comité Breton*; because some of the deputies sent from Brittany to the States General were its original members. It held its meetings at Versailles, in the church of those religious men called *Jacobins*, and hence assumed the name by which it is now universally distinguished. The chief members of this club were, Mirabeau, Syeyes, Condorcet, Brissot, Petion, Barnave, the two Lameths, Bailly, Garat, Rabaud, Gorsas, Chabot, Chapellier, Bouche; to these were added all the profound adepts both of the capital and of the provinces, and almost every man who has appeared as a leader during the French revolution.

The Jacobin club, with its affiliated branches, consisted of 300,000 adepts (says Baruel), who were supported by 2,000,000 of men, armed with pikes, hatchets, &c. ready to execute whatever they should command. It was formed of men of the most abandoned character. Those, in particular,

particular, were preferred who had been branded with disgrace by the courts of justice. Above all things they were to profess irreligion, and to express an implacable hatred against the established government. Their great aim was to obtain the management of the state, to disseminate liberty and equality, and all the doctrines of free masonry and Illuminism.

Every person admitted a member of the Jacobin club swore implicit obedience to the decisions of the brotherhood; and also to observe, and cause to be observed, all decrees passed by the National Assembly in consequence of the decisions of the club. He engaged to denounce to the club every man who should oppose its decrees, whether friend or relation, father, mother, sister, or brother, and to support all its decrees, though contrary to his judgment and conscience. When a member was expelled or proscribed, his name was inscribed upon a black or red list, and death was his inevitable doom*.

Thus in a short time the Jacobin club obtained the sovereignty of France. For its success it was indebted to the instructions of the Illuminati, who communicated those plans of seduction and conspiracy which overturned the government,

* Baruel's Memoirs of Jacobinism.

ment, laws, and religion, of France, and which have since been directed against the whole world.

The Jacobin club formed itself into a great number of committees, of which four were the principal. In the first of these were Barnave, the two Lameths, Mirabeau, Beauharnois, Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, and Fouquier Tinville: In the second, were Sillery and Voidel, the creatures of Orleans: In the third, were Bonne-Carrere, Desfieux, Gerdret, and Mendouze: In the fourth, were Villars, Carra, and others of the same description. The office of the first and second committees was to search out those who were suspected of being hostile to their views, in order to denounce and imprison them. They were also to direct calumnies, pillages, burnings, and assassinations. The third committee was employed in establishing clubs through the whole kingdom, in bribing the writers of journals, in exciting soldiers against their officers, and in endeavouring, by means of emissaries, to inflame the people of foreign nations against their sovereigns. The fourth committee was charged with examining the candidates who wished to be admitted members, and employed in receiving the dispatches which were brought to the society by couriers and deputies.

At the head of this society was the most worthless of all worthless men, the haughty, ambitious, abandoned

abandoned Duke of Orleans. He had from his infancy discovered a perverse disposition, and an unprincipled mind. He had a strong antipathy to sedentary employments, to application of every kind, and particularly to reading. He travelled in England and in the Netherlands; but it was not with the view of increasing his knowledge, of refining his taste, or of improving his understanding. His visits were chiefly confined to places of public amusement, to gaming-houses and brothels; and his select companions were sharpers and swindlers*. Though strongly addicted to debauchery and the meanest vices, yet he was guided by an exorbitant ambition. This passion was furious and ungovernable; determined to gain its end by any means which perverse ingenuity could devise, or hardened wickedness accomplish. When thwarted by opposition, it rose into a degree of rage, which nothing but vengeance could pacify. Orleans had fixed his eye upon the throne, and was willing to purchase it at any expence. While he was hurried on by ambition to supplant the king, an incident occurred which inflamed him with insatiable revenge to seek his ruin. During the American war he had petitioned the king for the reversion

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* *Histoire de la Conjuration du Duc D'Orleans.*

of the office of high admiral of France, then occupied by his father-in-law the Duke de Penthièvre; a petition which Louis thought proper to refuse *. This refusal stung Orleans to the heart: and this resentment was rendered more violent on account of his banishment for his seditious conduct during the royal sitting in 1788.

As the avowed purpose of Orleans and the Jacobins was to establish liberty and equality, it will perhaps be necessary to give a short view of the measures which they pursued in order to accomplish that end. It must appear highly inconsistent, that a man of such unbounded ambition as Orleans should have been so zealous in propagating principles which are evidently destructive of monarchical power, and consequently of that station and authority to which he aspired. But Orleans adopted these principles, because they appeared to him the only means of obtaining a crown. Had he been king of France when these principles were disseminated, he would have been their violent foe, and would have persecuted the authors with relentless fury.

The Jacobin club was the council of Orleans, where all his plots and conspiracies were formed.

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* Memoirs of the Marquis de Bouillé.

With the leaders of that club he arranged a regular plan ; by which he proposed to overturn the established government, and to raise himself to the crown of France. The plan adopted was, first to form a convention that would be obedient to his will, next to seduce the army from their allegiance, to keep in pay all the daily writers, to raise famine and insurrections, and to ascribe them to the king and nobility.

As it is intended only to give a short sketch of the methods employed by Orleans and his associates to diffuse the principles of liberty and equality, it will not be attempted to describe the circumstances attending the French revolution farther than will tend to illustrate the conduct of the Jacobins in attempting to disseminate their principles. Without delineating the events which occasioned the meeting of the States General, it will therefore be sufficient to mention, that when the king had been persuaded to call that Assembly, Orleans and the Jacobins exerted themselves in every possible way, that none but persons attached to their interests and views should be elected. Persuasion, authority, and bribery, calumny, promises, and threatenings, were employed for this purpose.

Neckar, it is said, was exhorted to employ the influence of the crown to thwart the intrigues of the Jacobins ; but that minister refused to interfere

tere. It is impossible to describe the conduct of Neckar upon this occasion without censure. We must either consider him as a man of mean abilities, who became the dupe of the Jacobins; or we must accuse him of being an accomplice in their conspiracy. The plan of doubling the number of deputies of the third estate, contrary to the precedent of former meetings of the States General, was unconstitutional, unwise, and fraught with innumerable evils.

The States General assembled at Versailles on the 4th of May 1789. They consisted of deputies from the three orders of nobility, clergy, and tiers-etat, and amounted to the number of 1159. A list of the deputies, distinguishing the order to which they belong, their rank or profession, may perhaps gratify curiosity, and convey useful information.

CLERGY.

48 Archbishops and bishops.

35 Abbés, canons, &c.

208 Curés.

—
291

NOBILITY.

18 Grandes baillis and seneschaux.

224 Gentlemen.

28 Magistrates of the high Courts.

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270

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TIERS-

TIERS-ETAT.

2 Ecclesiastics.

12 Gentlemen.

16 Physicians.

18 Mayors and consuls.

162 Lawyers of inferior (baronial) courts.

176 Citizens, merchants, proprietors, and farmers.

212 Advocates.

598

From inspecting the preceding list, it was no difficult matter to foresee, that the States General, instead of being the faithful representatives of the people of France, would be the servile minions of the Jacobins. Of the 1159 deputies who appeared in the States General, there were only 270 of the noblesse and 48 of the dignified clergy who were men of wealth and property; nine of the clergy and thirty of the noblesse were absent. In the order of the clergy, the curés, who were men of no ecclesiastical dignity nor independent property, had a decided majority. If their wisdom had been profound and their intentions upright, the want of property could not be mentioned as an objection. But can it be supposed, that those country clergymen were the most respectable of their order, who could, without

out repugnance, abandon the duties of the sacred function, to assume the office of legislators, for which neither their education nor their habits had in any degree qualified them? In examining the list of the tiers-etat, or third order, it appears, that there were 374 deputies belonging to the profession of law. These consisted, not of illustrious magistrates, nor of distinguished advocates, but of those who occupied the lowest place in courts of justice. They consisted chiefly of country attorneys and notaries, of inferior advocates or pettifogging lawyers; who, being mere adventurers, had formed magnificent expectations of the advantages to be derived from the possession of this newly acquired power.

It is far from being my intention to treat with disrespect the profession of law, which in Great Britain has been dignified by men of the most eminent abilities, profound wisdom, and invincible integrity. But it is necessary to remark, that the profession of law in France, except in the highest offices, was not deemed the profession of a gentleman. It is well known, that professional integrity often depends upon a sense of character; but a sense of character must be very weak, or altogether wanting, in men who possess no reputation, and are not accustomed to be treated with respect. It ought also to be mentioned, that the *avocats* were

were never employed in matters of state, and therefore were totally unacquainted with politics as an art ; a circumstance that was common to them, with the curés, and many other members of the States General.

Amid so great a number of representatives, there were many individuals actuated by the purest principles, who made a noble and patriotic opposition. But either their number bore so small a proportion to the elect of Orleans that their voice could not be heard, or they were imposed upon by false appearances and promises, or overawed by the terror of assassination, and the dread of involving their families in ruin.

From the statement which has now been given, it is easy to see, that if the three orders had assembled in separate houses, the clergy and tiers-etat would be led by the Jacobins ; if they assembled in one house, the majority in favour of the Jacobins was decided. It was the intention of the king, that the orders should assemble separately as they had done on former occasions ; but it was the wish of the Jacobins to mortify and subdue the nobility, as well as to establish their own power, that the three orders should be blended together. As the decision of this matter was injudiciously left to the States General, the wish of the Jacobins was quickly accomplished. The tiers-etat were al-
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most unanimous against the proposal that the three orders should meet separately; and accordingly formed themselves into a distinct assembly. They were soon joined by the greater number of the curés; and both together assumed the name of the National Assembly. The nobility at first made a firm and resolute stand; but by the intrigues of Orleans 96 were gained over: Upon which the king sent a message to the rest, requesting them to join the curés and tiers-etat.

Orleans and the Jacobins had now obtained a very important object. They had gained those men who were to act as the sovereigns of France. But as it was equally necessary to keep the National Assembly in their interests as it was to gain it over, other methods were attempted to secure a majority. The galleries of the Assembly were every day filled with a body of men, hired by the Jacobins to applaud the motions and speeches of their accomplices, and to treat, with every mark of contempt, whatever was said by the Royalists. The men employed for this purpose were chiefly deserters, and soldiers turned out of their regiments. At first they had five livres a-day (4s. 2 d. Sterling); but as their number was afterwards considerably increased, their pay was reduced to 40 sous * (1s. 8 d. Sterling).

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* It was by filling the galleries with men of this description.

Having corrupted a great part of the Assembly by bribery, and overawed the rest by the influence of the galleries, the Jacobins found it easy to obtain any decree which they chose to dictate. Their first step was to remove the nobility, the dignified clergy, and every person whose inclination or interest led him to support the king and a regular government. After these had been removed by banishment and assassination, the next step was to decree the abolition of all titles, that men might enjoy that equality which it was the object of the Jacobins to procure.

The National Assembly being thus at the beck of the Jacobins, the next thing to be done was to corrupt the army. The Duke of Orleans, who was the richest subject in Europe, lavished immense sums for this purpose. He seduced the French

tions that all motions were carried in the Assembly. By way of experiment, M. Bertrand de Moleville, one of the ministers, prevailed upon the king to fill the galleries with men who would support the Royalists, and counteract the Jacobins. The scheme was accordingly tried for a week, and succeeded far beyond expectation. The Royalists carried every point, to the astonishment and confusion of their enemies. This scheme was abandoned by order of the king, who could not think of owing his power to measures which he deemed infamous and dishonourable.—*Memoirs of Bertrand de Moleville.*

French guards with more than 400,000 livres, and employed more than 100,000 in drawing the regiment of Flanders from its allegiance *. Lacroix and the two Lameths sent to Metz, where the gallant Bouillé commanded, more than 300,000 livres. Davigneau distributed at Nancy more than 100,000 livres, and offered besides 100 louis for the head of Malseigne, a brave general, who had remained faithful to the king. Emissaries were dispatched by the different regiments to preach insubordination, to encourage licentiousness, and to promise to advance to the chief posts in the army all those officers who should abandon their duty. A great many soldiers had been brought to Paris, where they were admitted members of the Jacobin club. When these men returned to their respective regiments, they taught the doctrines of liberty and equality in the most licentious manner. A decree was at length passed by the Assembly to prevent the soldiers from attending seditious clubs; but it was soon after repealed by the influence of Fayette, a visionary politician, and a vain imitator of General Washington, who hoped by these means to increase his popularity. A few

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* *Histoire de la Conjuration du Duc D'Orleans.*

* *Bouille's Memoirs.*

months after this extraordinary repeal, the infantry expelled their officers, and chose others more acceptable to themselves and the Jacobins*. Almost all the marine officers emigrated, and carried along with them the naval skill and fortune of France†. It must not be omitted, that by this repeal Fayette lost his rank as commander, and his influence with the people, which he never recovered.

Having gained the National Assembly and army, nothing was wanting but to gain the body of the people. This was not difficult. As the greater part of the nobility and respectable clergy, most of the loyalists and men of property, had left the country, Orleans and his Jacobin accomplices could scatter their poisoned arrows with impunity. No means were left unattempted to incite the people against the king, and to disseminate the doctrines of liberty and equality. For this purpose all the daily writers were corrupted. Pamphlets, newspapers, and placards, teemed with the most seditious and treasonable language. Even an artificial famine was raised, and ascribed to the king.

In the year 1788 Orleans purchased almost all the grain in France, and exported it to England, Jersey,

* Bouille's Memoirs.

† Bertrand de Moleville's Memoirs.

Jersey, and Guernsey. By imputing this famine to the negligence or tyrannical views of the king, it was intended to render that monarch unpopular, and to excite the people to insurrection. Orleans had with this view hired a great many banditti, for two livres a-day, who were to begin the insurrection. It was at first resolved that this insurrection should take place on the day fixed for the meeting of the States General; but it did not take place till the middle of July following. It raged violently for several days, till the king, shocked with the cruelties that had been committed, yielded to the demands of the faction of Orleans; which were, that he should remove his troops from Paris and Versailles, and recal Neckar, who some time before had been obliged to resign his office of prime minister, from a suspicion entertained by the king that he was joined in league with Orleans. This excellent monarch, whose unsuspecting benevolence long prevented him from believing the accusations against this minister, at length was heard to say, "Why did I not believe it? Eleven years ago I was foretold every thing that now befalls me."

Another insurrection was raised on the 5th and 6th of October the same year, evidently with the design of compelling the king to sanction the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which was extremely odious to him. This insurrection ac-

complished the desire of Orleans in the manner which has been already described. But as soon as one wish was gratified, another always arose: a third insurrection was thus excited, to force the king to abandon France, that a decree of abdication might be passed against him, as the Parliament of England had done against James II. The king being now treated with indignity, insulted, threatened, and imprisoned, perceiving his authority destroyed, the Assembly led by a faction, and his own person in danger—came to the resolution of going to the frontiers. This plan, formed after mature deliberation, was communicated to the brave Marquis de Bouillé, who was to meet the royal family near Verdun, and to escort them to Metz. It is now well known that this plan was rendered unsuccessful by the treachery of some domestics *. Montjoie affirms, that both Orleans and Fayette were advertised of the day on which the royal family intended to set out, and knew the route which they were to take; and that Fayette had got a piece of the gown which the queen was to put on that day. It is also affirmed, that measures were taken for apprehending the royal family before their departure. When the king was brought

* *Histoire de la Conjuration du Duc D'Orleans,*

brought back to Paris, his situation was rendered intolerable ; but the conspirators did not yet venture to depose him. They wished first to lead him on to do some unpopular action which might afford a pretence for so violent a measure.

The king, upon his return to Paris, had solemnly promised that he would not withdraw himself from the city a second time. The conspirators were extremely anxious that he should break this promise, that they might accuse him of treachery and disregard to truth. Petion, the mayor of Paris and the creature of Orleans, frequently pressed this subject upon him ; but the king resolved to adhere inflexibly to his promise. Petion then devised another plan, which he hoped would compel him to attempt his escape, which might expose his life to imminent danger, or procure his deposition. He armed with pikes all the worthless banditti which Orleans kept in pay. They were called *sans culottes*, and were horrible and disgusting beyond expression. Besides being offensive by the indecency of their dress, their faces were flashed to make them hideous, and besmeared with dirt to render them disgusting. It was intended that this rabble should march in a body to the Assembly to demand the death of the king. To prepare the way for this event, the Jacobins talked of an Agrarian law, Brissot spoke of a National Convention,

Convention, and, along with Gorsas, Carra, and Condorcet, published incendiary writings. Danton, Robespierre, Santerre, and Legendre, poured forth imprecations against the royal family, and Petion and Manuel covered the walls with placards.

On the day appointed, this motley rabble presented themselves before the Assembly, demanding the death of the king. They then repaired to the king's chateau. The king immediately commanded the gate to be opened, saying, with a calm and undaunted voice, "I have nothing to fear from Frenchmen." When the gate was opened the multitude rushed in, crying, "Where is he, that we may murder him!" A Swiss regiment, which formed his life guard, drew their swords; "No, said the king firmly, put up your swords." During this trying scene, the conduct of the king was so mild, yet so noble and dauntless, that the rage of many was disarmed. Those who were disposed to violence were checked by the life guards, who formed a circle round the king. The *virtuous* Petion, as he was called by the populace, did not appear until this horrible procession had passed through the palace. He then approached the king, saying, "Sire, you have nothing to fear." "Nothing to fear (replied the king), the man who has a pure conscience has nothing

nothing to fear; they alone who have somewhat to reproach themselves with ought to fear. Give me thy hand, said the king to a grenadier who stood by his side, lay it upon my heart, and tell that man if it beats quicker than usual." Pétion, confounded, did not reply; but immediately addressed the multitude, and they dispersed *.

This insurrection not having accomplished the purpose of the conspirators (whether from their own want of decision, or from the wavering conduct of the multitude, it is not easy to say), it was resolved that a new insurrection should be excited on the 10th of August. This was concerted by Brissot, in order to accomplish a plan which he had conceived a year before, of breaking in pieces the sceptre of the Bourbons, and transforming France into a republic. He had for a long time been employed, along with many of the Jacobins, in endeavouring, by gross calumnies, to root out from the minds of the people every sentiment of affection for the king and queen. He had also intended to involve France in a foreign war, that there might be some pretence to accuse the king of carrying on a correspondence with the enemy, and by these means to procure a sentence of deposition. Anxious, however, that

* *Histoire de la Conjuration du Duc d'Orléans.*

that the abolition of royalty might appear to proceed from the voice of the nation, Brissot sent emissaries into the provinces to discover the sentiments of the people; but they refused to sacrifice their king. He then founded the Assembly, and found, with regret, that the majority were equally hostile to so violent a measure. He next had recourse to the terror of insurrection. Such, however, was the villany of this man, that on the 9th of August he privately offered to render the conspiracy abortive, if the king would give him 12,000,000 of livres (L. 500,000)*. But the unfortunate monarch had not money sufficient to supply such extravagant demands. The insurrection therefore was ultimately determined on.

That the humanity of the banditti might be no obstruction to his scheme, a horde of galley slaves were sent from Marseilles, who could murder in cold blood without distinction of rank, or age, or sex. These, with the hired banditti of Paris, assaulted the palace: but the king and royal family being advised to take refuge in the hall of the National Assembly, escaped in time to avoid the danger. The faithful Swiss guards were attacked with savage fury, and were all massacred except 2 or 300, who were saved by the
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* Memoirs of M. Bertrand de Moleville, vol. iii. ch. xxii.

the humanity of a few individuals. Such was the barbarity shown upon this occasion, that Montjoie says, Great fires were kindled, and persons of both sexes took up the palpitating bodies of the Swifs, and devoured them half roasted!*

The Jacobins had now fully gratified their wishes. The king was a prisoner in the National Assembly, which was surrounded with cannon, and guarded by assassins ready to obey their commands. Whatever sentence they should dictate, in that they knew the Assembly would acquiesce. It was therefore decreed, that the king should be provisionally suspended; that a National Convention should be elected for establishing the sovereignty of the people, and the reign of liberty and equality. Orleans, it is said, intended to spend the remainder of his fortune in forming this Convention, hoping that they could easily raise him to the throne.

Orleans did not, however, trust to the influence of money alone; he was anxious also to try the effect of terror. It was therefore proposed, while the electors should be deliberating to whom they should give their vote, to make a general massacre of all the royalists, of all the priests, and enemies of the Jacobins. It was thus intend-

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* *Histoire de la Conjuration du Duc d'Orleans.*

ed to keep back all those who were attached to their king and country from offering themselves as candidates, and to compel the electors to give their suffrages to the favourites and dependants of Orleans. This massacre took place on the 2d of September, and was much more terrible than those which preceded. That none of the devoted victims might escape, every street and avenue were guarded, the houses were forcibly entered, and the unfortunate inhabitants dragged to prison. In every prison a tribunal was erected, by which the prisoners were tried, condemned, and immediately ordered to execution. The chief persons employed in these horrible scenes of slaughter were, Petion, Manuel, Danton, Laclos, Sillery, and Condorcet. It is computed that, during the month of September, twelve or fifteen thousand were assassinated. Among the murdered were most of the witnesses who had testified against Orleans for his connection with the affair of the 5th and 6th of October 1789. There was also a great number of priests, and many men of the first rank and character in the state. These assassinations cost immense sums. Marat had for his share 15,000 livres (L.625.)

The plan of Orleans and the Jacobins succeeded but too well. No man of property, nor rank, nor character, would discharge the duties of an elector, or would offer himself a candidate for the office

office of representative, which was so dishonourable and dangerous. Of the fifteen representatives which the city of Paris elected, there was not one man of character. The electors had abandoned their post to the Jacobins, who chose deputies of the same principles with themselves.

The conduct which such men would pursue when seated on the national tribunal, might have been traced in their own character, and in the principles of the Jacobins. Their first act was to abolish royalty, to declare France a republic, and to proclaim liberty and equality.

At length the day for the trial of their virtuous monarch is fixed. And who are to be his judges, who are to be his jury, who are to be his accusers? The Assembly are ready to perform the offices belonging to these inconsistent characters. Conscious of usurpation, and sensible that the eyes of the whole world were fixed upon them, it was to be expected that they would be careful to observe some external decency. Will it then be believed, that on the same day on which the king was arraigned before the Assembly, the infamous Marat was also impeached? Will it be believed, that on the day when it was to be determined, whether the king should be put to death immediately, or the execution of the sentence should be suspended, the Assembly were for a long time occupied about the frivolous question,

What should be the clothing of the national guards? I am convinced, that there is not an instance in the criminal records of Great Britain of such a want of decorum, of such unpardonable indifference, about the fate of the vilest wretch. But Louis was one of those upright characters whom the most vicious are wont to revere. He was religious, compassionate, and generous. He loved his subjects, and was ready to sacrifice every thing to their happiness. He abolished the custom of the *Corvée*, which was looked upon as a great oppression. He permitted no person to be examined by the torture. He relinquished all the feudal rights on his own domains, and had embraced every reform which he thought would promote the happiness of his people. He for a long time opposed the new constitution; but when he accepted it, he accepted it as a man of principle: he kept it always beside him, and consulted it upon all occasions, that he might conform to its dictates.

The Jacobins had exhausted all their arts in securing a majority to vote for the death of the king. Not only the accusers and personal enemies of the king were permitted to give their suffrage, but even absent members sent their vote. Yet so great an abhorrence have even wicked men at imbruing their hands in the blood of the virtuous and the innocent, that the Jacobins
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would not have obtained the sentence of death against the king, had not a band of the assassins of Orleans, who were posted at the gates of the Assembly house, terrified by their cries, and menaced with their poignards, whoever hesitated to become an accomplice. Notwithstanding these violent methods of overpowering justice, the death of the king was decreed by a majority only of five voices. By the new constitution, the voice of so small a majority had no legal authority; for it required three-fourths of a jury to pass a sentence of condemnation. But though all the charges brought against Louis were either false or absurd, the Jacobins were determined to bring him to the scaffold; not because he was a criminal, but because he was a king, and consequently was a bar to the proclamation of the sovereignty of the people, and the new doctrines of liberty and equality.

Louis conducted himself during the trial with much composure and dignity. When the sentence was read to him, he demanded three days to prepare for his death. This small request was refused, by passing to the order of the day. He then prepared to meet his fate with the fortitude of a man, and with the piety and benevolence of a Christian. He read with attention the account of the death of Charles I. in Hume's History of England. He took leave of his family
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with the tenderest affection*, and spent the rest of the evening with his confessor. He went to bed at half past twelve, and slept profoundly till five. He then rose and dressed himself, attended the celebration of mass with much devotion, and retired to his closet. He left in charge a seal to be given to the dauphin, and a ring for the queen; and while he delivered this last message, he wiped away some tears.

At half past eight he was conducted to the scaffold, which he mounted with serenity. The executioner attempted to tie his hands. The king looked indignant, and seemed to resist this unnecessary severity. His confessor replied, "Sire, this is another instance in which your sufferings resemble those of the Saviour of mankind." The king immediately yielded; but could not help adding, "You need not tie so hard." He then spoke to the people, "Frenchmen, I die innocent; I pardon my persecutors; may my death be useful to France"—Santerre, the commander of the national guards, ordered the drums to beat, and the king's voice was no longer heard.

Thus died Louis XVI. declaring his innocence, and bequeathing forgiveness to his enemies.

* See Clery's Journal of the Occurrences at the Temple.

mies. This unfortunate monarch has been blamed for want of firmness; but his want of firmness proceeded from the goodness of his heart. He was heard to say, Oh! if my wife and children were not with me, it would appear that I am not so weak as I am supposed *.

It is a happy circumstance for society, that a lasting union between unprincipled men is impossible. They herd together only while their mutual assistance is necessary; but no sooner are their enemies subdued, than the same passions which united them, render them implacable enemies to one another. When Orleans had obtained the death of Louis XVI. he expected to ascend his throne: but this was not the intention of his accomplices; their aim was to raise themselves. During the life of the king, their views were promoted by joining in the ambitious schemes of Orleans; but when Louis was no more, they found the ambition of Orleans an obstacle to their own elevation, which it was necessary to remove. The death of the king blasted the hopes of Orleans for ever. His finances were exhausted by the immense sums which he had squandered in bribery and corruption. His jewels, his library, and gallery of paintings, were sold to purchase

* Memoirs of M. Bertrand de Moleville.

the favour of Marat and Robespierre. To preserve his tottering popularity, he assumed the ludicrous name of *Equality*; but all in vain. With his wealth, his influence and authority entirely disappeared; and he who had formerly been courted by all the aspiring adventurers in France, was now viewed with general contempt and detestation. All his friends abandoned him to the horrors of his own mind. He shut himself up in his house, and guarded every access with armed men. Such was the abject baseness of his mind, that he would have sacrificed every thing to save his life. But his late accomplices had now seized the sovereign power, and they were anxious to be rid of so dangerous a rival. Orders were therefore given to apprehend him; and he died by the guillotine about ten months after he had voted the death of the virtuous king of France.

Robespierre now assumed the absolute government of France; and never surely was there a more tyrannical and savage government: yet Robespierre pretended to be the zealous friend of the people, and the great patron of liberty and equality. He avowed, that his only enemies were the aristocrats, the friends of tyrants, and the enemies of the people. But under these odious names he comprehended all men of property, all men of character and principle, all whom he suspect-
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ed to be hostile to his views. A party in the Convention, at the head of which was Brissot and Vergniaud, attempted to oppose him. He immediately raised an insurrection; and a multitude of his banditti, assuming the name of the people, came in arms to demand the arrest of his opponents. Six and twenty of the deputies were brought to the guillotine upon this occasion, and seventy-three, who had protested against this violent measure, were lodged in prison.

That none of Robespierre's enemies might escape his vengeance, he demanded of the Convention two decrees, which he immediately obtained: 1. That all suspected persons should be arrested; 2. That the enemies of the people should be judged capitally. All those were declared suspected persons who had not constantly manifested their attachment to the revolution; and all who by their conduct, by their connections, or even by their conversation, had shown themselves the enemies of liberty. Those also were deemed suspected persons to whom certificates of civism had been refused. The meaning of these two laws evidently was, that every man whom Robespierre and his unprincipled associates thought it proper to proscribe, were to be punished with death. It was actually proposed to reckon as suspected persons all publishers of newspapers, and all who should address a single

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person by the word *you* instead of *thou*; the singular number, it seems, being judged more expressive of equality.

The first assembly had robbed the clergy of their property, the second confiscated the property of the nobility who emigrated, and pillaged the property of those who remained in France. No other property of any value now remained but that of the merchants; and Robespierre resolved to seize it also. In a paper found at Robespierre's house after his death, and printed by order of the Convention, it is declared, that "*merchantism* must be crushed; that wherever a great number of merchants were to be found, there were found as many cheats, and liberty could not establish its empire there." Accordingly the merchants were stripped of their property by confiscations and requisitions; so that at length no man of ancient property remained in France*.

Revolutionary committees were appointed in every part of the kingdom. It was declared to them by Collot d'Herbois and his colleague, who were proconsuls at Lyons, "that every thing is lawful for those who are engaged in the work of the revolution; and the only thing republicans have

* Baruel's Memoirs of Jacobinism.

have to fear is to come short of the laws of the republic. Those (say they) who anticipate the laws and go beyond them, are often not arrived at them." In the same speech, Collot d'Herbois and his colleague proposed to impose a tax upon riches, without being very attentive to mathematical exactness, or timorous scruples, in fixing the share of public contributions. "Act then (say those trusty friends of liberty and equality) upon a large scale; take whatever a citizen has not in actual use; *for superfluity is an evident violation of the rights of the people**."

These are maxims which the most profligate would scarcely have the presumption to avow. If all the highwaymen, pickpockets, and sharpers in the city of London were met together to form a plan to render their depredations on the public successful, it is not probable that they would devise maxims so absurd, so wicked, and abominable.

Influenced by such principles as those of Robespierre, and directed by such vague decrees as those of the Assembly, we need scarcely to wonder at the atrocities committed by the revolutionary tribunals. A hundred thousand persons of both sexes and of every age were thrown into prison

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* Neckar on the French Revolution.

as sheep into a slaughter-house, to be taken out in dozens and butchered. The common mode of putting criminals to death by hanging, being found too tedious, a new machine called the guillotine was introduced, by which a great number could be put to death in a short time: but even this method was found too slow to gratify the insatiable vengeance of the lovers of liberty and equality. New modes of punishment were therefore to be invented. Multitudes of the suspected were thrown into the river Loire, or set adrift on the sea in drowning boats; and this new mode of massacring was called *noyades*. At Lyons the unhappy victims were collected in a public square and destroyed by grape shot; this was called by the new name of *fusillades*. It is computed that, from the beginning of the revolution to a period before the end of the year 1795, 2,000,000 of the unfortunate natives of France were massacred in cold blood; of whom were 250,000 women, 230,000 children, and 24,000 clergy*.

Since the constitution of 1795 was introduced, the principles of liberty and equality have been still, if possible, carried farther by Drouet, Bâauf,

* See a book entitled *Cruelties of the Jacobins*, published at Paris in 1795.

bœuf, and Langelot. From an address made by these adepts to the people of France, we extract the following extraordinary paragraph :

“ The Agrarian law, or the equal partition of lands, was the momentary wish of a few soldiers without principles, of a few clans, actuated rather by instinct than by reason. We aim at something far more sublime, far more equitable; *goods in common, or a community of estates*. No more individual properties in land; for the earth belongs to nobody. We demand and will enjoy the goods of the earth in common; the fruits belong to all. Disappear now, ye disgusting distinctions of rich and poor, of higher and lower, of master and servant, of governing and governed; for no other distinction shall exist among mankind than those of age and sex.”

Thus it was proposed to adopt the wild impracticable scheme of Weisshaupt, to destroy property altogether, to abolish laws and governments, and to make men equal in wealth and power.

SECT. IV. *Observations concerning Equality.*

IT is needless to trace any farther the means employed to establish liberty and equality. In
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the historical facts which have been related, a sufficient specimen has been given of the characters of the men who patronized these principles, and of the unjust and barbarous methods employed to disseminate them. It will therefore now be proper to inquire, What was the equality which so many men have been pursuing, and for what reason is it considered as one of the rights of man? Is it a mere phantom, or is it a reality? Is it worth purchasing with the blood of millions, and by the horrors of anarchy, famine, and assassination? And after it is purchased at so dear a price, are there any means by which it can be retained?

In whatever sense we employ the word *equality*, it is difficult to perceive how it can be one of the rights of man. It has not been generally admitted by philosophers, nor known to the common people. It is not, therefore, a self-evident principle. God has not made men equal; society has not made them equal; neither can any laws nor education preserve men equal. What, then, does equality mean, when considered as a right of man? Not, surely, equality of understanding; for men are born with different capacities; and no standard has yet been invented by which the understandings of men can be reduced to one scale. It is indeed surprising, that the French, who have lately made the wonderful

derful discovery, that mind is composed of a fine species of crystals *, should not also have found out some process by which those crystals could be reduced to one standard.

Equality cannot mean equality in knowledge and virtue ; for some men will be wise, and some men will be fools ; some will be good, and some will be wicked, whatever new laws and forms of government shall be devised.

Neither can equality mean an equal distribution of property ; for supposing you were to make all men equal in wealth to-day, they would be unequal to-morrow. Some would increase it by industry, and others would squander it in extravagance or folly. One man makes a fortune by his abilities, by his diligence, or by a happy coincidence of circumstances, and he bequeaths it at his death to his children. Is not this natural ? Is it not fair and just that a man should leave his property to his children ? Yet from this it necessarily happens, that a person is often born to wealth before it can be known whether he will be a wise man or a fool. A community of goods is a mere chimera, which could not enter into the imagination of any but an indolent spendthrift, or an indigent villain. If it were possible

* See a Paper by La Metherie in the Journal de Physique.

possible to establish a community of goods, which, happily for society, it is impossible to do, men would lose their industry, their talents, and their virtues, and would become wild beasts watching for their prey, and tearing each other to pieces in order to obtain it.

Equality, according to the doctrines of the Illuminati and Jacobins, means equality in power. It rejects all kings, princes, and magistrates; it destroys all distinction of ranks, abolishes the names of master and servant, annihilates all laws, and leaves every man to the guidance of his own passions. This is a plan to destroy society under the pretence of improving it; it is to make men savages in order to civilize them; it is to increase their power of doing mischief, to multiply temptations to vice, in order to make them good; to expose their property to plunder, and their life to the mercy of the assassin, under the vain pretence of raising the dignity, and extending the happiness of the human race. This is to reverse the nature of things, to make virtue become vice, and vice become virtue, to convert misery into happiness, and happiness into misery. It is to oppose the experience of fifty centuries, and is a presumptuous, but vain attempt, to overturn the Moral Government of God. But behold the villainy of these men, observe them when possessed of power, and you will see that equality is the most

most despotic and tremendous tyranny, that it is the bescm of destruction, which is to sweep away all the comforts of this life, and the delightful prospects of the next.

It is evident, then, that equality in understanding, in knowledge, in virtue, in wealth, and power, is impossible. In these qualities men never were equal, and by nothing that man can do can they be made equal.

But perhaps it may be said, equality consists in a uniformity of names; because in France all titles are abolished. But how is it a right of man, or of a member of society, that no appellation of honour, nor name of distinction, should be conferred on any individual? Since it is evident that men are not born equal, and cannot be made equal in capacity, in knowledge, in virtue, in wealth, or power, why is it unjust or improper that there should be names to distinguish these necessary inequalities? For example, if it be necessary that there should be magistrates and rulers possessed of power superior to other men, is it not of the utmost consequence that they should possess every thing requisite to make their authority respected? Now, if a harmless word, such as *my Lord*, or *your Majesty*, has a tendency to produce respect, and consequently renders a magistrate or legislator more useful in his office—

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society, instead of receiving an injury from titles, gains an inestimable advantage. The French, after abolishing all distinction of ranks, have had recourse to magnificent dresses, in order to obtain due respect to the Directory and Councils. But if a name can accomplish the same end, and it is evident that a name can accomplish it more effectually than a rich dress, it is certainly a very easy method of increasing authority. This is a sufficient reason for conferring titles upon legislators, upon judges, and upon other persons holding dignified offices.

There are also other cases in which titles are highly proper. If a general or an admiral has delivered his country from the tyranny of a foreign enemy by his skill and gallant conduct; or if a statesman has saved the nation by his wisdom and activity—is it not reasonable, is it not just, is it not a tribute of gratitude due to them, to confer some distinguished and permanent mark of honour? This mark of honour ought to be something which is highly valued, and so difficult to be obtained, that it can only be bestowed by the highest authority in the nation. It ought to be such a reward as will captivate the fancy, as will keep awake the enlivening passion of hope, and incite to the greatest perseverance and fortitude. It is the hope of honour that prompts men to great and dangerous exertions. A nation ought,

ought, therefore, to make the proper use of this principle.

Accordingly, in Great Britain, every man who confers a great national benefit may look forward with confidence to a title as the recompence of his labours, however low his birth, or indigent his circumstances. Is it not a gratifying thought to every native of Great Britain, that we have rewards to bestow which would be deservedly valued high by the first of men? One may venture to say, that no nation ever had so illustrious and honourable a reward to bestow as a seat in the British House of Peers. This is a more dignified privilege than that which was enjoyed by the members of the court of Areopagus, or by the Roman senators when Rome was mistress of the world.

Is it not a delightful reflection that Great Britain has honours to confer which are in any degree equivalent to the distinguished merit of such legislators as the late Earl of Chatham, and of such admirals as Howe, Jervis, Duncan, and Nelson? But what honours, what rewards, has France to bestow upon illustrious statesmen, or eminent officers? It has reserved nothing but a ticket in the pantheon, or an insertion in the bulletin: an honour to be shared with most of the knaves and ruffians who have disgraced the French revolution.

If the French notions of equality, then, be an equalization of names, we may be allowed to ask of what advantage is a uniformity of names? What rational purpose can it serve to call every man *citizen*? It is just as absurd as it would be to address every man by the word *man*, and every woman by the name of *woman*. The only use of names is to distinguish one person from another; and this distinction is generally more obvious when to the name is added some word expressive of the power or rank of the individual. But it appears, that the use of names in France is not to distinguish, but to confound; for every man has the same name.

Perhaps it may be said, that equality requires that every man should be equally eligible to all offices in the state. If this be the meaning of the term, we have no reason to be anxious to import equality from France, for we have long possessed this equality. Every office of dignity and trust in the army and navy, and every office of state, is accessible to all, even the lowest, provided he possess the necessary qualifications. It must, at the same time, be acknowledged, that it is easier for a man of rank or wealth to attain these offices than for a man of low birth brought up in indigence. But for this wise arrangement a most satisfactory reason can be given. Men of wealth and rank have the advantages of a liberal education,

education, and of associating with men of eminence in all the departments of government. There is therefore a certainty that, in general, more able statesmen can be selected from the higher classes of society than from the lower; for it is education that forms the man. But though it be a wise and a necessary regulation, that the access to high confidential offices in the state should be more easy for a rich than for a poor man; yet that government would be defective and unjust, which should raise any artificial obstructions to prevent a man of conspicuous talents in the lowest rank of life to rise to that degree of elevation for which he was fitted by his wise Creator. In this country there are no obstructions thrown in the way by government to exclude any poor man of transcendent talents from rising to the highest office in the kingdom. It is true he must surmount many difficulties: but in this case the poor man has an advantage over those of superior rank; for the struggle which he is obliged to make in endeavouring to rise above his station, the difficulties which he is forced to encounter, and the experience which he must in his progress acquire, qualify him for supporting a high office with much more ability than he could have done if he had ascended to the same elevation by the accidental assistance of rank or affluence.

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Should it be said that the crown is not accessible to any, and that the House of Peers is shut against the whole nation, except those on whom the king confers the privileges of a British Peer ; the answer is, that it is easy to shew, that the king and peers are of more benefit to the nation, from the rank which they hold, than they or any persons possessing the same qualifications could possibly be in any other situation whatsoever. Should it be objected, that the House of Commons is open only for men of certain property ; it is replied, that the House of Commons is of too much importance to the nation to be open to all men without distinction. I would ask the reader, if he had a sum of money to lend, whether would he think it safer in the hands of a poor man or in the hands of a man of property ? In the hands of a man of property without doubt, supposing the characters of the poor and rich man in other respects the same. Now if an individual would judge it safer to entrust his fortune to a man of property than to a man in indigent circumstances, it must surely appear as much the interest, and consequently the duty of the nation, to commit the revenues of the state to men of property. The reason is evident ; men of property will be anxious to preserve their own wealth ; and the same means which will preserve their own wealth, will equally preserve the property,

perty, the privileges, and immunities of the nation.

In confirmation of these remarks, it is proper to mention, that all the injustice committed in France, in the way of confiscation, robbery, and plunder, was occasioned by men without property swaying the reins of government; and all the cruelty and bloodshed arose from the spirit of equality. When men of no property had seated themselves at the head of affairs, they felt no interest in preserving a regular limited government, because they could gain nothing without industry and perseverance, and as yet they had nothing to lose. On the other hand, if a revolution should take place, they saw prospects of a golden harvest; they perceived, that by boldness and intrigue they might in a very short time obtain a fortune, or possess a degree of power which they could never have acquired by honest perseverance.

All the changes of government that have taken place in France have been accomplished by men of no property. The Duke of Orleans owed all his temporary success to men of this description. As a farther confirmation of this, it may also be observed, that the greater part of the leaders in the French revolution have been lawyers of an inferior class, who were rather adventurers than men of wealth. If, from these observations,

vations, we might draw any conclusion, we should be tempted to infer, that no regular government can exist in France till men of property be again seated at the helm of the state.

It was observed above, that all the cruelty and bloodshed committed in France have arisen from the spirit of equality. Men submit without complaining to the authority of their superiors, while they consider it as an intolerable grievance to obey the commands of an equal. A superior, in consequence of the respect which is paid to him, acquires a degree of dignity and generosity of mind; while an equal, wherever power is concerned, considers all his equals as rivals. These observations might easily be illustrated by many facts. The cruelties committed in France cannot be ascribed to the king, to the nobility or clergy, or to persons of property: they were committed by inferiors against their superiors, or by equals against equals, when ambition taught them to view each other with a jealous eye. A king or a nobleman (who was not previously as abandoned as the Duke of Orleans) would have shrunk with horror at the idea of the barbarities which the friends of equality perpetrated with calmness. It may, without rashness, be affirmed, that had superiors been as resolute against their inferiors as inferiors were against their superiors, and equals were against equals, the French revolution would not yet have happened.

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It was necessary thus fully to relate the history of equality, and the opinions entertained of it, that we may be enabled to judge how far it is practicable to make men equal, and how far wise to make the attempt. It will be evident to every man of reflection, that it is impossible to make men equal in the qualities of the mind, or in the qualities of the body; and that whatever external distinctions tend to give authority and stability to a regular government, whatever can be deemed a reward for merit, whatever can promote the honour and happiness of the nation, ought to be protected and preserved. The conduct of the British and French nations, with respect to external distinctions, resembles what is said of Jack and Martin in the Tale of a Tub. Jack is said to have been so impatient to get rid of the trappings and lace with which Lord Peter had decked him, that in removing them he tore away part of the coat itself; while Martin, with more caution and deliberation, pulled off slowly what was superfluous or fantastical.

The notions which men have entertained of equality have varied every year since they were first broached. At one time equality was supposed to mean a levelling of ranks; and at another time it denoted an equal division of property. Every man explained it according to his own si-

tuation. The country gentleman hoped to make an addition to his own lands, by sharing in the division of the duke's or lord's property in his neighbourhood; the merchant and the farmer expected to get a portion of the country gentleman's estate; the tradesman flattered himself he should obtain an equal division of the commodities of the merchant and the grain of the farmer; and those of the lowest order expected to share in the wealth possessed by every man who was richer than themselves. Thus each expected that every man above himself should be brought down to his own standard, but that he himself should remain in the full possession of all the wealth which he had received by inheritance or acquisition.

The notions received concerning equality have probably been as various in France as in Britain. We have seen, that the words liberty and equality among the free masons, Illuminati, and Jacobins, had a much more extensive meaning; that they were used to signify the destruction of kings and princes; that sometimes they seem to be synonymous with anarchy and licentiousness, to express the destruction of law and property, and the dissolution of civil society. The idea of equality chiefly entertained by the common people was that of reducing all the higher ranks to a level with the multitude. This was highly
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gratifying to the pride, vanity, and ambition of the people. To be the advocate of equality, then, was a certain road to the favour of the populace, and consequently to power. All aspiring demagogues pretended to adore liberty and equality as the greatest of all divinities; and as a proof of the sincerity of their adoration, they repeated these words upon all occasions. The people were deluded with the empty sound; and the ambitious adventurer was allowed to pass on to the summit of his wishes, followed by the acclamations of the multitude, who applauded him as the friend of the people, and the defender of liberty and equality.

Amidst the various revolutions which have taken place in France since the year 1788, the revolutions of opinion deserve to be noticed. It is easy to prove, that the framers of the present constitution of France have changed their opinions respecting equality, and have now become anxious that the people should adopt the same opinion with themselves. In the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which accompanies this constitution, they have inserted a new definition of equality. "Equality (say they) consists in this, that the law ought to be the same for all, whether it protect or whether it punish." This is no more a definition of equality than it is a definition of liberty or of property. It is an at-

tribute of law ; and is it possible that this can pass in France as a definition of equality ? Is it possible that equality and law are confounded ? objects which are as distinct as the words diversity and equity ; as a variety of ranks and the foundation of any moral or political principle. If the French do not see this palpable absurdity, then certainly the Directory have thrown a film over the eyes of the nation, and have chained down their understandings, that they dare no longer to pretend to distinguish one object from another.

We cannot easily understand how a characteristic of law could be received by the whole nation of France as a definition of equality : but it is not difficult to discover the intention of committing this extraordinary fraud. Since the revolution, equality has been the ladder by which every aspiring adventurer has mounted to the summit of power. As it was equally accessible to every man of unprincipled ambition, they followed one another in rapid succession ; every fresh troop overthrew those who had gone before, and occupied their place. Thus the possession of power was dangerous, and always of short duration. The framers of the present constitution were sensible of this evil, and therefore resolved to destroy the ladder by which they had climbed to the sovereignty, that no fresh succession of demagogues

gogues might ascend by it to rob them of the supreme power. They have therefore banished equality from their constitution and laws. But, in order to deceive the people, and to preserve to themselves the reputation of being the friends of equality, they have introduced the *word* equality into the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and have even asserted it to be a right of man. But that equality might no longer be formidable to themselves, they made it almost synonymous with the word law; a new meaning, which it never had in any language since the beginning of the world.

Thus, then, we take leave of equality, which we have found to be the most extraordinary and inconsistent of all principles. In the mouths of some it is capable of every meaning, and with others it has no meaning at all. In its effects, it is, however, the most pernicious principle that ever influenced the understanding of the weak, or corrupted the heart of the wicked.

CHAP. VI.

OF THE LAW.

“**ART. VI.** The law is the expreffion of the
“general will.”

This principle is fupposed to be the invention of the famous Rouffeau. That writer confiders the general will of a nation as the foundation of the law; and fays, that all laws ought to be annulled which have not been formed with the confent of thofe who are to obey them. The general will (he adds) is always right, and tends to the public advantage. The people may change the beft laws; for if they choofe to injure themfelves, who has a right to prevent it? He goes on: The affemblies of the people ought to meet at a ftated time, without being formally convened by authority; and the firft thing propofed ought to be thefe two question: 1. Does it pleafe the fovereign people to preferve the prefent form of government? 2. Does it pleafe the fovereign people to leave the adminiftration with thofe who are at prefent charged with it? The office of kings (he fays) is no more than a commiffion,
which

† Social Contract.

which may be limited, modified, or recalled at pleasure."

In these passages we have the origin of the maxim, that the law is the expression of the general will, which Rousseau affirms is always right, and tends to the public advantage. This is ascribing an origin to law which no sober writer upon politics ever thought of before. It is deriving it, not from any fixed moral principle, but from the wavering inclinations, the whim and caprice, of the multitude. According to Rousseau's ideas, were we to meet with a great croud of people, of all ranks and descriptions, and propose to them any law, however complicated and profound, we are sure that the right side would be espoused by the greater number; and if the law tend to promote public happiness, it would most certainly be adopted. Is it possible that any man in his senses can entertain such sentiments as these? They are the ravings of an enthusiastic imagination, heated almost to frenzy, and not the dictates of a cool understanding. But as the opinion of Rousseau upon this subject has been applauded by many who are apparently in their senses, it may be necessary to examine it with some attention. It may be comprehended in these two questions: 1. Has every man a right to vote in making the laws by which he is governed? and, 2. Must the laws
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passed by the majority of the people be always right?

1. "The ground-work of the French revolution (says the well-informed Abbé Baruel) is comprised in this principle, Every man who is supposed a free agent ought to be his own governor. Hence arises the conclusion, that the legislative power ought to reside in the body of the people. This principle obliges us to suppose, that every man is born free and independent; that he is qualified to think and act for himself; and that his will and actions are always right. But where are these ideas obtained? Surely from the contemplation of angelic beings; for no person possessed of any degree of understanding, and who knows any thing of the imperfection of human nature, and of the dangerous errors and transgressions into which we are all liable to fall, will presume to affirm, that every man's will ought to be his law. How such an opinion could be adopted is inconceivable; for it is directly opposite to the truth. Man is not born an independent being; and the very first thing that he is taught in all nations is, that his will is not to be his law; that he must be obedient to those who are older and wiser than himself, to his parents, to his teachers, and even to his nurse. When then does man become independent? When is he qualified and entitled to act for himself? In

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no country, it is presumed, will you find this maxim received, that a son, residing in his father's house, is independent. Surely no father thinks so, and few fathers act so; yet there is not in human nature a purer, a more dignified, and more disinterested affection, than the love which a father bears to his children. Among the ancients, who have been much applauded for their passionate love of liberty, a father had supreme power over his children. He could inflict any punishment upon them; he could even condemn them to death. A man never became his own master until the death of his father and grandfather. Among the Chinese, it is said every father possesses the same power over his children which was exercised by ancient nations.

In modern times, a man becomes his own master at the age of 21, or when he leaves his father's house, and begins to support himself by his own exertions. What situation, then, is a man in before he arrives at this age? He cannot exercise the rights of a citizen; he can take no part, either directly or indirectly, in making the laws: yet he is subject to the laws. He may be imprisoned, he may be banished, he may suffer death, before he is 21 years of age. Rousseau would certainly declare all such persons mere slaves. Yet such must be the situation of every man in France, as well as in other nations,

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till he attain a certain age. Let us suppose, then, that 21 is the age when men become free and independent, when they enter into full possession of the rights of man, when they become their own governors, and their will is changed into a law. But here a formidable difficulty arises, How are these rights to be asserted, and how can they be conferred and exercised?

Suppose a man arrived at the age of 21, how is he to act? He finds himself in a society governed by laws, most of which were probably framed several ages before he was born. Let us suppose that these laws are as perfect as a succession of illustrious statesmen, in a long series of ages, have been able to render them. Are these to be submitted to the examination of a young man of 21? Are they to be altered at his pleasure if he should disapprove of them? or is a dispensation from obeying them to be granted upon his demand? It must therefore be allowed, that whoever attempts to change a good law, attempts to injure the peace of society; and whoever injures the peace of society is guilty of a crime. Unless, then, a man can plead a right to commit crimes, he cannot pretend that he has a right to change the laws, or that he is not bound to obey them, whether he has actually given his assent to them or not. Hence the conclusion must be

be allowed, that good laws are obligatory upon all men.

But without including in the supposition the circumstance, that the laws previously established are as perfect as former ages have been able to make them, it may still be affirmed, that the assent of all those who have finished their 21st year is not necessary to render the laws obligatory. For if such an assent were necessary, how is it to be expressed and made known? There is only one way: All the young men in the nation, as soon as the days of their minority have expired, must hold an assembly for revising the laws. And would the old think it prudent or necessary to alter their laws, because young inexperienced legislators should happen not to see their excellence and utility? Or would they think it just and reasonable that the young should be excused from obeying the laws which they themselves had been accustomed to revere? If the maxims of Rousseau were just, the young might say to the old, We have examined your laws, and we disapprove of them; we must not, therefore, be punished for transgressing them. This would be a most desirable plea for all pick-pockets, swindlers, and highwaymen, and for bad men of every description. Depend upon it, these men will never give their assent to any of the laws which are made to protect life or property. If, therefore, bad men are not to be

punished for breaking any laws but those to which they have assented, bad men will not be punished at all; and consequently there will be no occasion for any laws; for laws are not necessary for the good, they are necessary only for the bad.

Never surely was a more false or absurd principle than this, that no laws are binding upon a man except those to which he has given his assent. It is a principle that, if generally adopted, would banish religion, virtue, and even law itself, from the earth. Is there any human being so ignorant, or so wicked, as to say, that the laws of God are not binding upon every man? Now, as far as human laws agree with the laws of God, as far as they are just and reasonable, they are strictly binding. As surely as what is right is different from what is wrong, as surely as virtue deserves reward, and vice deserves punishment, as surely as God is the governor of the world—all just and wise laws are obligatory, whether they be promulgated by the voice of God himself, or framed by his rational offspring.

2. Let us next inquire, whether the laws made by the majority must be always right? It is agreeable to the doctrines of Rousseau, that the people may change the laws every year. They have the right to do so; and whatever right they possess, they surely may exercise. It is of no consequence

consequence what the established laws are, however judicious, however excellent, however useful, if a majority of the nation should will to change these laws, they have a right to do it. Is not this to affirm, that the majority have a right to do what is wrong? For to change excellent laws, in order to substitute worse laws in their place, must certainly be wrong. This is to confound right with power. It is to say, that whatever a man, or a number of men, are able to do is right. If I am stronger than you, I have a right to knock you down, and to take from you what I please.

Did this absurd opinion require a serious refutation from the experience of mankind, the reader might be referred to the government of Athens, where, in many cases, the will of the people was the law. Let him answer the question, was that law just which inflicted an exorbitant fine, and condemned to imprisonment, the heroes who had saved Greece in the celebrated fields of Marathon? Was that law just which condemned to banishment their most illustrious citizens, their best statesmen, and most successful generals, without a trial, often without an accusation, and always without evidence? Was that law right which drove Cimon into exile, which expelled Themistocles from that country which he had delivered from Persian slavery? Was that law founded in equity which
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forced into banishment the unblemished Aristides? In passing these sentences, the people were guided by the humour of the moment, without reflecting either upon the justice of their conduct, or the dire consequences which it necessarily produced. What should we think of the nation that would banish such men as Howe, Jervis, Duncan, or Nelson? Yet those men whom the will of the people banished were the Howes, the Jervises, the Duncans, the Nelsons, of Greece.

It must therefore be evident to all who are not very deficient in understanding, that there is no inherent right in every man to vote for the laws which he is bound to obey, and that there is no reason to believe that the general will is always right. One might go a step farther, and assert, that laws will never be made at all, if none are to be made except those which are the expression of the general will. For what are the qualifications necessary to make laws? They are wisdom and virtue. But did ever a man of sober reflection suppose that you can obtain the whole wisdom and virtue of a nation by collecting in a mass all its inhabitants? Did any thinking man ever believe that the more men you can crowd together the more perfect laws you will make? that wisdom and virtue are, like oil, to be estimated by the bulk of the materials from which they are extracted? Is wisdom and virtue then

to be computed by the weight of brains and number of souls? Formerly, it was believed that multitudes produce confusion, disorder, and anarchy, with all their natural consequences, rashness, error, and injustice; formerly, it was believed that wisdom and virtue are rare commodities, to be obtained only by a careful selection from the great multitude. But all these opinions, though maintained by those who were considered as the sober and wise, are now, it seems, become old, antiquated, and unfashionable. It was reserved for the illuminated understandings of the present day to discover, that truth does not depend upon evidence, and that the excellence of laws is to be estimated by the number of votes. How the opinions of the multitude should be always right, is a mystery not easily understood; for the multitude have not a single qualification to fit them for legislation. They want capacity, they want knowledge; they have no opportunity of acquiring political experience. Now politics is the most complicated of all the sciences, and the most difficult of all the arts. The greatest abilities, without much exertion and long experience, are not sufficient for the study and the practice. Is it to be conceived, then, that by collecting the votes of the whole nation, and by thus giving the ignorant, the inconsiderate, and the foolish, the same authority with the wise and intelligent; by giving

ving men not worth a shilling the same power with men of great property—you will guard most effectually against corruption, and make laws that shall be wise, just, and beneficial? Do you think that the laws passed in Great Britain every year by the king and parliament (that is, by the men of property, knowledge, and experience), would be rendered more perfect by undergoing the scrutiny of all the porters, chairmen, weavers, ploughmen, and chimney-sweepers, in the three kingdoms? Do you suppose that men, whose ideas seldom rise above the making of a pin or a button, are qualified to manage our foreign colonies, to regulate our fleets and armies, or to enter into calculations concerning the national debt? You might as well employ them to explain Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, or Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia*. If all the people were to give their votes upon public affairs, what are they to do when subjects occur which they do not understand? a circumstance which would happen every day. They must vote from mere caprice, or according to the dictates of designing men. But it would be better to make laws by a ballot-box, or a wheel of fortune, than by such methods as these.

It follows, then, that the law is not, never was, and never can be, the expression of the general will; because this definition of law is not founded in reason, and would be pernicious if reduced

reduced to practice; because the multitude are not qualified to judge what laws are right and what are wrong, what are expedient and what are hurtful; and because they would always be under the influence of demagogues, who would corrupt them by bribery, or deceive them by eloquence.

But since it is a principle adopted in France, that the law is the expression of the general will, it is fair to enquire, Is the general will the law of France? Yes, we shall be told, for the constitution has been approved of in the primary assemblies. But did those primary assemblies examine the constitution? or were they qualified to examine it? The reader will judge how far they were qualified to examine it, when he is informed, that it consists of the abstract Declaration of the Rights of Man, and exhibits the plan according to which the sovereign power is to be divided among the Directory, the two councils, the judges, and the people; and that it determines the most important, the most profound, and the most difficult, questions in politics.

But were we even to allow, what no thinking man can believe, that the whole people of France, or even the majority of the people, were qualified to judge of the constitution, one thing is certain, they did not examine it; for sufficient

time was not allowed them. The new constitution consists of a long series of articles, which, in an English translation, occupies forty-eight duodecimo pages. This list of articles, which it is said was composed by a committee of eleven men in the space of a fortnight, was presented to the primary assemblies. Now had these assemblies consisted solely of men of great abilities, of profound knowledge, and of extensive experience in politics, they would have required much time to consider each article separately, to determine whether it was founded in reason, whether it was just, whether its expediency and utility was supported by experience, and whether it was adapted to the character of the French nation, and to the improved state of society. After examining each article separately, it would have been necessary to join the whole together, to consider whether they formed a regular, a harmonious whole; whether the sovereign power was so divided, and its divisions so arranged, as to balance one another; whether the system gave hopes of permanency; whether, under its protection, the arts and sciences could flourish in luxuriant verdure; whether trade and commerce would there take up their habitation; whether the human race could there cultivate with advantage the virtues that adorn their nature, and enjoy the perfection of terrestrial happiness. It
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may be added, there was a fundamental error committed; for if the people were to have a free choice of a constitution, a variety of constitutions ought to have been transmitted, that they might determine whether their government should be monarchical or republican; and if republican, of what species it should be.

But the primary assemblies, instead of consisting only of the wise and experienced, were formed of men of all ranks and characters; the greater part of whom did not probably know (we might have said, *certainly did not know*) what a constitution meant; for they confounded with the constitution an article which it was impossible could form any part of it. When the National Assembly sent the constitution to the Primary Assemblies, they sent along with it a proposal, that two-thirds of the members which were to compose the new councils should be re-elected from the deputies of the Assembly. By most of the Primary Assemblies this proposal was considered as a part of the constitution, and on that account was approved; though, had the matter been understood, it would certainly have been rejected. As the greater number of the Primary Assemblies, then, were so ignorant as not to understand so simple a point as this, what are we to expect from so hasty a decision upon so complicated a subject as a constitution? At an average

taken over France, or any other country, you would not find in an assembly of five thousand men twenty persons who could approve or disapprove of each article of the constitution from their own reasoning and experience. How then are the remaining four thousand nine hundred and eighty to give an opinion? They will be led by some of the twenty; by the most eloquent, the most active, and most intriguing—who will probably be the most ambitious, the most violent, and the most worthless.

To say, then, that the French constitution is the expression of the general will, or was adopted by a great majority of the nation, is saying only that the majority adopted it without examination, or received it with silent acquiescence. But one of these two things may be asserted of every despotic government in the world; for if the majority did not acquiesce, the government could not stand a year.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

OF SECURITY.

ART. VIII. Security consists in the action
 “of all, to assure to each the enjoyment and pre-
 “servation of his rights.”

This definition is so ambiguous, that an ambitious or designing man might easily wrest it to the worst of purposes. There is no doubt that all rights ought to be preserved; but what is meant by the action of all which preserves these rights? As there is no mode of action pointed out by the constitution, we must suppose that this is a matter of discretion, in which all are to act in whatever way they shall judge proper. But if a man be deprived of any of his rights, how are all to act in order to restore them? Is it by passing a law against the guilty person? But surely it is not meant, that whenever a crime is committed, all the people of France are to assemble for the purpose of making a special law. It cannot be meant, that all are to employ themselves in apprehending every person accused of a crime, otherwise the nation must be occupied with nothing else. It cannot barely be the intention of this law, that all are to rise in arms,
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and to punish the guilty person on the spot. It is undoubtedly the duty of every man to exert himself to the utmost of his power, in order to prevent crimes; but when a crime is committed, it cannot be reckoned the most prudent and effectual way of punishing the criminal for the whole nation to rush into action. If the French are to have a code of laws, and judges, and juries, these, without the constant interference of the whole nation, ought to be able to support the rights of the citizens. But if the rights of the citizens cannot be supported by the regular forms of justice, is it to be supposed that they can be supported by insurrection and violence? This would produce an extraordinary series of absurdities. It would be to suppose that order may be produced by disorder, tranquillity by violence, and justice by injustice.

Had it been said, that it is the duty of every member of society to respect the laws, to do every thing in his power to prevent crimes, and to bring criminals to punishment—the meaning would have been plain, and the injunction judicious; though still it could not be asserted, that this was a right of man. But to say that security consists in the action of all, to assure to each the enjoyment and preservation of his rights, seems to imply, not that individuals singly, but that the whole people in a collective capacity, are to make
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and execute the laws at their own discretion. Whatever therefore may have been the intention of the framers of this definition, nothing can be more evident, than that it is so obscure and ambiguous, that every man may explain it according as reason, or ambition, or revenge, predominates in his mind.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

OF PROPERTY.

ART. XIV. XV. XVI. The right of property is that of enjoying and disposing of a man's goods, revenues, the fruit of his labour, and industry. Every man may engage his time and his services, but he cannot sell himself, or be sold; his person is not an alienable property. No man can be deprived of his property without his consent, unless when public necessity, legally proved, requires it, and upon condition of a just indemnity."

Suppose a landlord were thus to address his tenants: I have given you a lease of these farms; you are to cultivate them for nineteen years, and to pay me the rent which we agreed upon. While my situation remains the same as it is at present, you shall continue in full possession of your farms; but if any misfortune should befall me, I may find it necessary to take them from you: in that case I will do you no injustice, for you shall receive a just indemnity.

Would not a farmer hear with astonishment and indignation such sentiments as these? Would he have any reason to confide in the justice of a landlord who lays down such rules for his conduct?

duct? Bonds, and obligations, and charters, would be of no use at all, if every superior had a discretionary power to break them whenever he thought his circumstances required it. But it may be answered, this is only to happen when necessity demands it. And who is to be judge of this necessity? The landlord is to be judge. Well; but an indemnity is to be given. And who is to estimate the indemnity? The landlord. He may therefore, when he sees it to be his interest, find a pretence to strip the tenant of his lease.

This is a case exactly equivalent to that of a state laying down public necessity as a reason for violating the laws respecting property. Public necessity is a loose indefinite phrase; and if rulers have a discretionary power given them by law to determine when this necessity takes place, they may probably be able to discover it whenever their ambition calls for new means of power, or their avarice for more plunder.

A wise legislator would lay down no maxims whatever as fundamental principles, but those which rest upon the eternal basis of justice. These he would exhibit as the solid pillars of the constitution, to the preservation of which the whole care of the nation ought to be directed. Above all things, he would not be anxious to hold forth to the eye of the world those exceptions to the general principles of justice and equity,

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which the imperfection of human governments, influenced by dire necessity, may in the course of events be compelled to receive. It will be sufficient time to introduce exceptions to general rules, when the state of a nation becomes such as to render these exceptions inevitable; for we may rest assured, that exceptions to justice and equity will not often occur, unless they be desired and sought after.

How different was the conduct of the most illustrious of all legislators, the Lord Jesus Christ, in the rules or maxims which he inculcates. The illuminated freethinker may perhaps smile at the strange idea of introducing such authority: but I do not at present appeal to the authority of this great personage as a Divine Being, though this consideration will have its due influence on the mind of the Christian; it is sufficient for the present argument that the concession be granted, which every intelligent reader of the gospels must allow, that Jesus Christ knew human nature well, and had the sagacity to perceive what would be beneficial and what would be hurtful to mankind. This admirable legislator always inculcates the general principles of morality in the most unlimited sense, and never mentions any exceptions. In the rules which he lays down respecting forbearance under injuries, revenge is forbidden in so clear and unequivocal terms, that
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it is impossible by any glosses to explain the precept away. It is forbidden in those celebrated words, which have been often misrepresented by those who did not perceive the sublime wisdom by which they were dictated, "I say unto you, resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain. Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away." In this passage Jesus Christ enumerates several injuries, probably such as were most commonly committed among the Jews, in order to inculcate the general principle, that the passion of revenge ought never to be indulged from any pretence whatever.

Our Saviour certainly did not intend to teach the doctrine, that men ought not to defend their persons against the injurious, or their property against the plunderer, or to declare that men ought to lavish their fortunes upon the idle or the profligate; but he purposely chose to express himself in such strong terms against a passion which men are most of all prone to indulge, and which has the most baneful effects upon the peace of families and the happiness of nations. He therefore avoids mentioning

a single exception to his general rule, because he knew that the disposition of men leads them always to go in search of exceptions; that thus they involve their conscience in self-deceit, and run blindfold to destruction. The wisdom of our Saviour must be admired by every man of sober reflection. The French have followed a very different course. Not perceiving that introducing exceptions to general principles has a tendency to overturn the general principles themselves, they have undermined their whole constitution, by admitting a most dangerous rule, a rule directly opposite to justice, equity, and truth.

It is added indeed, by way of softening the evil principle of public necessity, that this necessity must be legally proved to exist before property can be removed from its rightful possessor. But public necessity is not a matter of fact, it is a matter of opinion; and the opinion entertained concerning the existence of that necessity will depend upon the character of the rulers. Public necessity being once admitted as a circumstance which may influence justice and supersede law, would lead to the most dreadful consequences in every country, but especially in a country like France, where the government is not directed by men of property. It is indeed a maxim that never could have been admitted as a fundamental principle

principle of the constitution, except by men who had no property to guard. It in fact establishes a licence for plundering and confiscation ; and produces as necessary consequences, banishment and assassination. If we look to France, we see these consequences appearing with the most formidable aspect. When the resolution was once formed of confiscating the property of the nobility and clergy, and of the most wealthy inhabitants of France, this was done under the pretext of public necessity ; but this public necessity was a principle so insinuating, that it was scarcely possible for a rich man, and altogether impossible for a rich nobleman, or dignified clergyman, to escape ; for, whatever way he acted, confiscation was inevitable. It was decreed, that the property of emigrants should be forfeited to the state. This comprehended the greater number of the nobility who had been obliged to flee their country from the fear of assassination. It was also decreed, that the property of the clergy should be confiscated although they remained in the country.

For confiscating the estates of the nobility who had emigrated, the new rulers had some appearance of reason ; the emigrants had taken up arms and threatened an invasion of France : but for plundering the church they had no such pretence. The clergy were indeed attached to the king ;

king ; but they would have been quiet and faithful subjects under any regular government ; for the annals of history will prove, that the body of the clergy have generally been the friends of order and of good government. The history of Great Britain will shew, that in all wise and moderate reforms the clergy have taken the lead ; and when unreasonable discontent, or the restless spirit of sedition has prevailed, they have remained faithful to their duty. Whoever, then, wishes to destroy the church, wishes to destroy the state, and is in fact the enemy of a regular government. Were Satan permitted to send emissaries among us, in order to destroy all law and government, they would probably begin by demolishing the church.

The church of France was overthrown for the sake of the plunder which it contained, and for the support which it gave to a regular government. Public necessity was the motive and the apology for destroying those bonds, and charters, and laws, and privileges, which had been held sacred for ages : but there was no public necessity in the case ; it was the avarice and ambition of a few individuals which produced that event. What a pernicious principle must that be, which could afford a pretence for robbing the clergy of the property secured to them by the laws ; which bereaved them of the means of subsistence ; and
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which, instead of giving them a just indemnity, brought to a cruel and untimely end 24,000 of that order, and drove the rest into exile? Yet the clergy had no other fault, in a political view, but that they were actuated by an attachment to the king, to the laws, and religion of their country. They were, however, reckoned dangerous in a state where every thing was to be changed. For to be a man of character, and to possess property, were the greatest of all crimes. Had they remained, they might have wept over the ruins of their country; they might have kept up some regard for religion; they might have watched an opportunity of re-establishing order, and justice, and truth. It was therefore necessary for the rulers that such men should be removed.

Besides stripping the nobility and clergy of their possessions, public necessity also permitted the Convention to take possession of the revenues of those institutions which ancient benevolence had founded. They seized upon the estates of the hospitals, promising to give an adequate annuity; but the sums bestowed were small, and very irregularly paid. The hospital at Bordeaux formerly expended a revenue of L. 390,000 annually; but the succours which it received from government in eight months amounted only to L. 20,000. The seizure of the estates belonging

ing to the hospitals necessarily reduced the number of superintendents, and thus bereaved the children of those persons who took care of their health and education. The consequences are truly deplorable. In the hospitals for the support of illegitimate children, seven-eighths perish in the same year they are admitted, and few survive the second year*.

Public necessity thus robbed the hospitals, under the pretence that they were the property of the nation. This principle still was fraught with greater evils; for it led to the most pernicious of all doctrines, that if an end be good, any means employed to accomplish it are expedient and lawful: that is, if you wish to promote the happiness of mankind, you may adopt any means, injustice, robbery, cruelty, and murder, if such crimes can enable you to gain so benevolent an end. This was a fundamental principle with the Illuminati, and was probably derived from them. The enthusiasm and rapidity with which this maxim was espoused in France is inconceivable, and the consequences which it produced were indeed horrible. Apostles were commissioned to preach insubordination and licentiousness.

* See D'Ivernois's Hist. and Polit. Delineation of the Administration of the French Republic during the year 1797.

ness. Jean de Brie proposed that a legion of 1200 assassins should be embodied, who should take an oath to extirpate kings from the face of the earth. It is now well known that the late king of Sweden was murdered by an assassin from the Jacobin club; and there are very strong reasons to believe that Leopold Emperor of Germany fell a victim to the wicked machinations of the same society. The National Assembly proclaimed to the whole world, that France was ready to lend its assistance to the disaffected in every nation to overturn their established government. Thus an attempt was made to disseminate a principle of disunion, to spread discontent and sedition, to foment tumults, insurrections, and revolutions, in every nation of Europe.

CHAP. IX.

OF THE SOVEREIGN PEOPLE.

“ART. XVIII, XIX, XX. The sovereignty resides essentially in the universality of the citizens: it is one, indivisible, imprescriptible, inalienable. No individual, and no partial union of citizens, can arrogate the sovereignty. No man can, without a legal delegation, exercise any authority, nor fill any public function. Each citizen has an equal right to concur, immediately or mediately, in the formation of the law, the nomination of the representatives of the people, and of the public functionaries.”

The sovereignty is said to reside, not in a part, but in all the citizens; it is said also to be indivisible. If the sovereign power reside in all the citizens, all the citizens must be capable of exercising it; for power which cannot be exercised is no power at all. But how can all the citizens exercise sovereign power? If they do exercise it, they must act in concert; but they cannot act in concert without some easy and regular mode of conveying their sentiments to one another. A whole nation cannot assemble in one place, nor is this required by the French constitution.

tution. The people must therefore divide into different assemblies, and choose representatives to act for them; for a whole nation can no more carry on a government, than it can convene in one place. But if the people choose representatives to act for them, is not this transferring the sovereign power from themselves to others? Yet the Declaration asserts, that the sovereign power resides in the universality of the citizens, and is inalienable. What this mode of speaking may be termed in France, where every thing has changed its name, it is difficult to say; but in Great Britain we should call it a downright contradiction.

We are also told that the sovereign power is indivisible; yet the sovereign people are divided into a great number of assemblies. These assemblies are called Primary, and cannot consist of fewer than 450 citizens, nor more than 900. How can the sovereignty be indivisible, when the people who compose the sovereign are separated into many thousand assemblies, which can carry on no communication with one another? This is also so like a contradiction, that he must be a man of great sagacity who can make the distinction. Perhaps we shall be told, that none of these assemblies can act independently of the rest, and that they act only when they are unanimous. But if they never act except when

they are unanimous, they will never act at all. He who supposes that a whole nation, consisting of many millions, can unite in sentiments on any political subject, must have come from the imaginary commonwealth of Utopia, or from a country inhabited by beings very different from man. If the citizens cannot be unanimous, how can the sovereignty reside in the universality of the citizens? One part of the sovereign will be of one opinion, and the other parts will adopt opinions very different. If the sovereign power, then, is ever to be exercised, it must be exercised by the majority; and the minority will have no more power in France than they will have in any country in the world.

The people of every nation must be distinguished into the thinking and wise, and the unthinking and ignorant. The thinking and wise can alone form plans and direct the affairs of a nation; the unthinking and ignorant are only qualified to follow the opinions of their leaders, and therefore cannot constitute part of a sovereign, any more than an army constitutes part of a general, or the officers of a court of justice constitute part of a judge. They cannot act till they are acted upon; and therefore, as far as wisdom and sagacity are concerned, they are merely passive. But a passive sovereign is an absurdity, a contradiction. Should we allow that the unthinking

thinking part of society may form part of the sovereign, in a metaphorical sense, then they must be satisfied to occupy the place of the hands and feet, and to have all their motions directed by the wisdom of the head. Or should the hands and feet usurp the place of the head, as has taken place in France, then there will be power without wisdom, and energy without principle; and all the crimes, and all the miseries, which the page of history exhibits, or imagination can conceive, will overflow that nation with irresistible force.

It has been already shown, that what the French call the universality of citizens, can mean only the majority of the citizens. Now, if we go a step farther, and exclude from the sovereign power all those who have no capacity to judge in sovereign matters, we shall reduce the universality of citizens to a minority of the nation, and to a very small minority too. The celebrated Mr Burke, whose acquaintance with human nature was profound, whose knowledge of futurity resembled the spirit of prophecy, and who, during the French revolution, arose like a comet, the object of attention, and wonder to mankind—this well-informed and sagacious statesman has calculated the thinking part of the British nation at 400,000. Now, as France is said to contain near three times the population of Great Britain

Britain (though there is no reason to think that it contains so much), let us reckon the thinking part of the French nation at 1,000,000, or 1,200,000, though probably more than three-fourths of that class have been banished or put to death; let us, however, compute them at 1,000,000 or 1,200,000. If the management of public affairs were entirely left to these, they would at least act with thought and understanding: But if you add to them several millions who are not qualified to give an opinion upon any political subject, and who therefore must follow implicitly the opinions of others, you put it in the power of any ambitious man, who is possessed of cunning and address, to lead the multitude as he pleases; and thus to counteract every measure which the thinking and respectable part of the nation might in their wisdom judge expedient. From the history of Greece and Rome, innumerable proofs might be quoted of the sad and dreadful effects which ambitious demagogues have produced. Thus wisdom has often been overpowered by folly, and virtue by wickedness.

If the sovereignty resides essentially in the universality of the citizens, then all the people of France constitute the sovereign. But if all the people constitute the sovereign, a question naturally occurs, Where are the subjects? A sovereign without subjects would be as extraordinary

a prodigy as a servant without a master, or a son without a father. Perhaps we shall be told, that the whole people, in a collective capacity, form the sovereign, and that the individuals separately are the subjects; that is, every citizen of France is a whole subject, but he is only a part or slice of the sovereign; so that when he obeys the sovereign, he obeys that slice of the sovereign which he himself forms. As every man in France may not possess a sufficient knowledge of metaphysics to comprehend this nice distinction, every individual will be under the necessity of explaining it according to his own fancy. It is easy, therefore, to foresee, that most men will choose rather to assume the rank and authority of a sovereign than to appear in the humbler capacity of a subject. What dreadful consequences would not such a conduct produce? The love of power, when it becomes strong, even in cultivated minds, generally swallows up every other passion, weakens the moral principles, and leads to every crime: But when it seizes rude uncultivated minds, it becomes a ferocious passion, which converts men into savages and beasts of prey. Better it were that the wild beasts in the deserts of Africa were permitted to prowl at large over a nation, than that the multitude should be actuated by such a principle. The reign of the sovereign people has indeed been a reign of horrors,

rors, and has far outstripped, in every respect, the reigns of any of the tyrants recorded in history. During the few years of its existence, more crimes have been committed, more blood has been shed, and more misery produced, than by all the kings that ever sat upon the throne of France.

Laying aside the theory of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, let us inquire in what the power of the sovereign people consists, or rather what is the sovereign power which they are permitted to exercise? This power is comprised in two things; in the privilege of approving or rejecting the constitution, and in voting at elections. The first of these privileges, that of approving or rejecting the constitution, is a mere farce, and is destroyed by being once exercised. If the title of the sovereign people depends upon the privilege of voting at elections, it is somewhat extraordinary. With as much propriety might the House of Commons be denominated the speaker of the House of Commons, or the electors be denominated the Parliament, as that the multitude should be called the sovereign people. There never was a more flagrant abuse of language. A sovereign is the person who exercises the supreme or highest power in the state; but in no regular government was it ever supposed, that the whole body of the people could exercise that authority.

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The people of France are called the sovereign people; but they do not possess one single prerogative of a sovereign. It would not have been more absurd had they assumed the name of Emperor of Morocco, or Governor of the North American States, or Ruler of Japan; for they are as much sovereign of these countries as they are of their native country of France.

The king and nobility were deprived of their power and their titles, that the people might be invested with the splendid title of sovereign. And is this pompous high-sounding title, an empty name, a title of mock-majesty, intended to cajole and dupe the credulous multitude by flattering their vanity? It is a glittering bauble, which so dazzles their weak eyes as to render them incapable of seeing the fraudulent artifices which are going on around them. Like a man dreaming of golden mountains, while the thief is pilfering his pockets and robbing him of all he possesses, the people of France are gulled and besotted with the title of sovereign power; while a few ambitious men, having stolen the substance, rule them with the most despotic and barbarous sway. Instead of possessing any shadow of sovereign power except the name, they are the subjects—no, they are the slaves, of the most tyrannical masters that ever existed. At the call of the Directory, they must resign all the rights

of man, their liberty, equality, property, and security; they must abandon the peaceful labours of commerce, of agriculture, of arts, and manufactures; they must forsake their wives and their children; march into a foreign country, to make war, not only against their enemies, but against neutral nations; to carry desolation into the bosom of tranquil and happy states, to plunder their friends under the mask of fraternity; and to divide all Europe into petty republics, that they may afterwards be swallowed up by the Great Nation. The unhappy people of France, reposing implicit confidence in their rulers, voluntarily submit to the most degrading yoke that ever was imposed; they are rendered the tools of ambitious unprincipled men, in trampling under foot all nations that will not crouch with base humility at their imperious nod. They are compelled to stir up insurrections and rebellions, to set fire to the four corners of Europe, and to deluge the world with blood. They are condemned to be the scourge of surrounding states; to be the curse of the widow and the helpless orphan; to become an astonishment, a proverb, and a byword, among all nations; and to be the abomination of posterity.

CHAP. X.

EFFECTS OF THE NEW PRINCIPLES ON THE CHARACTER AND SITUATION OF THE FRENCH NATION.

HAVING examined the exceptionable articles of the Declaration of the Rights of Man ; having shewn that the French legislators have mistaken the end of government ; that their enumeration of the rights of man is defective and false ; that the definition of liberty is imperfect ; that their equality is an artful fraud ; that their security is an ambiguous and dangerous right ; that some of their ideas respecting property are fit only for those who are to live by confiscations and depredations ; and that the title of the sovereign people is a title of mock-majesty—let us now examine what effects these new opinions have produced on the character and situation of the French nation, and upon their conduct to foreign states.

Let us first consider the effects of the French revolution upon the trade, manufactures, arts, sciences, and manners of the people.

As to their trade, it is almost annihilated. Their colonies have been ruined by insurrections and foreign wars. Their fleets are shut up in their own harbours, while our merchantmen cover the

ocean, and convey commodities to every part of the world. As France has no market to dispose of her manufactures, she has little encouragement to carry them on. She is obliged to purchase many of her necessary commodities from this country. Thus she contributes to support our trade, and assists us to carry on the war.

We are fortunately enabled to give some account of the state of the arts, sciences, manners, opinions, &c. from a book intitled *Fragmens sur Paris*, published by Dr Meyer, a German of abilities and observation. As he is at the same time an enthusiastic admirer of the French constitution, his authority can scarcely be called in question, when a regard to truth obliges him to give an unfavourable account of what he saw.

All the arts languish and decay from want of patronage; for genius will not exert itself where neither honours nor rewards are bestowed, and where the means of subsistence are precarious. The passion for liberty in France seems to be a passion without any taste for what is great or elegant. On the pedestal where the statue of Louis XV, stood, is erected a statue of liberty made of clay, and covered over with bronze. The bronze is daily falling off, and the clay crumbling to pieces. On the ruins of the Bastile another statue of liberty is raised, which is wearing away in the same manner. The art of painting is also in a state of decay.

decay. When the celebrated painter David is asked to shew his revolutionary picture, he replies, "Ask me rather to shew you my *Horatii* and my *Brutus*, which I painted in more peaceful times."

No species of learning but chemistry and the mechanical arts make any progress; and even they are encouraged more because they increase the means of destruction than because they are useful to society. The National Institute is a pitiful representative of the Academy of Sciences. Few books of value are published, except the works of those authors who are beyond the reach of the Directory's arm.

The public roads are neglected; even the streets of Paris are never cleaned nor repaired. The police of that city, which was formerly the best in the world, is now destroyed. In the streets robbery is very frequent; and in the theatres it is scarcely possible to secure a watch or pocket-book; so numerous and dexterous are the pickpockets. The public-offices are so dirty and full of stench, that Dr Meyer found it painful to visit them.

With the majority of the people the government is not popular. Before the revolution in September 1797, the people ventured to express their sentiments freely against the government. Dr Meyer heard a man haranguing publicly against

gainst the five tyrants of the Luxembourg. Even the news of great victories did not give them joy. When victories were proclaimed, many replied, "Go to the Directory with your cries of victory; it is peace that we want." This disaffection to the government is said to prevail among those who owe all their fortune to the revolution.

The system of terror again reigns; arbitrary tribunals, called military commissions, determine all cases in which the state is concerned, and imprison or banish those whom they suspect of want of attachment to the prevailing constitution. That gaiety which seemed congenial to the mind of a Frenchman, is changed into an air of Stoical indifference. Neither the numerous theatres, nor the public festivals and spectacles, are sufficient to remove the general melancholy. France is said to be more tranquil since the revolution of the 4th of September 1797, when 200 of the leading members of the councils were banished and 40 newspapers silenced by an arbitrary edict. But the tranquillity which reigns is that awful stillness which succeeds a massacre, when every eye assumes a look of suspicion, when every voice is hushed, and every heart trembles with foreboding apprehensions. It is necessary to add, that Dr Meyer speaks much of the luxury, voluptuousness, and gross immorality, which generally abounds. The manners of the people seem entirely

tirely changed. It is pleasant, however, to observe, that they still retain their politeness to strangers.

If we examine the character of those connected with the government, we find them ignorant in a very uncommon degree. One of the secretaries of the central board of Paris asked Dr Meyer, Whether Hamburgh was a commercial town? yet this man had been in Germany, and spoke the language of that country. Many of the generals in the army are vulgar men, without education, and destitute of that humanity which always distinguishes true bravery. The ambassadors sent to foreign courts are, with very few exceptions, more remarkable for their insolence and intriguing spirit, than for diplomatic knowledge or the manners of gentlemen.

In fine, the French nation have now fully experienced all the accumulated evils which attend insatiable avarice, unprincipled ambition, and unlimited despotism. They expected happiness under a republican government; but they have been bathed in blood, and overwhelmed with crimes; while their ears have been tickled with the mere sounds of liberty, equality, and the rights of man. But words cannot always deceive; they cannot persuade a man that he is happy, when he feels that every thing which could make him happy is taken away. "If the people
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are wretched in a republic (says Carnot), they will demand a monarchy. If they are made to believe that a republic offers nothing but a perpetual state of self-denial; that it is a government where justice is administered by cannon balls, and where it is dispensed with when any one cuts the throat of a royalist; where fear is the universal principle of action; where natural affections are weaknesses, and the prejudices of education are considered as crimes; where decorum and good faith are ridiculous, and a wish for tranquillity is a breach of public duty; where liberty consists in a right to oppress, and the character of the government is violent and arbitrary—I say, if a republic of such a description is offered to the people, they will demand a monarchy*.”

CHAP.

* See Reply of Carnot to the Report of Bailleul in the Name of the Secret Committee.

CHAP. XI.

EFFECTS OF THE NEW PRINCIPLES ON THE CONDUCT OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT TO ALLIED AND NEUTRAL STATES.

AT the commencement of the revolution the French renounced all ideas of conquest; but when the plans of the Illuminati and of the Jacobins were adopted, the desire of universal dominion began to prevail. They declared war against Austria and Prussia, hoping to delude Great Britain with vain promises till they should be able to take us by surprise, and strip us of all our colonies in the East and West Indies. The scheme was fortunately discovered by the vigilance of our government, and the French were obliged prematurely to declare war.

The passions which have stimulated the French to conquest deserve attention, as well as the means which have they employed to ensure success. The love of power and honour prompted the ancient conquerors to engage in war. This was the motive which influenced Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, and most of the other ancient warriors. They trusted for success to their military skill, and to the discipline and bravery of their soldiers. The Romans often extended their em-

pire by fomenting quarrels between neighbouring nations, and then taking the part of the weaker. Mahomet became a sovereign by founding a new religion accommodated to the prevailing prejudices and passions of the times.

The ambition of the rulers of France has been as violent as that of any conqueror whose exploits are recorded in history; but it was totally destitute of that generosity which is anxious to spare the vanquished, and of that disinterestedness which respects private property. An insatiable desire of plunder was inseparable from the love of dominion which has instigated the Directory. They have availed themselves of numbers, of discipline, and talents: but it was not to these alone they owe their success; they have been more indebted to the influence which they gained over public opinion. They have contrived to exhibit their new principles in so engaging a dress as to fascinate the imagination, and to flatter the strongest passions in human nature. They pretended to be the enemies of oppression, the champions of the lower classes, and to fight only to promote the happiness of mankind. They imposed upon the fancy of the learned by offering a romantic system of government; they gratified the pride and vanity of the lower orders by promising to make all men equal; and they roused their ambition by opening the road to power. They fed the indolent and avaricious

avaricious with the hopes of plunder, and a new division of property ; and they secured the discontented and the profligate by removing all those restraints which confine exorbitant passions.

The means which they have employed to disseminate these principles are various and formidable. They availed themselves of all those secret societies which exist in different countries, but particularly of Freemasonry and Illuminism.

At an early period of the French revolution, Joseph II. Emperor of Germany got possession of a manifesto signed by the Duke of Orleans, as Grand Master of the Order in France. This was addressed to all Masonic Lodges, and to all the Directories ; who were requested to make the proper use of it among all the brethren of Europe. It summoned the lodges to unite in support of the revolution, and to excite zeal for it in every state and by every means in their power. This manifesto had an astonishing influence : it raised a band of conspirators in every nation, who opened the gates of the best fortified cities to the French armies. The French have continued to keep up a correspondence with these societies ; they send emissaries to visit them ; they send them plans of insurrection, which they are required to execute.

They have also persons employed to publish seditious writings, to calumniate the government

of every state, and to extol the French constitution. It is even confidently asserted, that there is not a state in Europe where they have not newspapers in their pay.

During the first campaign in Flanders, we are informed by Dumourier in his Memoirs, that thirty millions of livres were expended in corrupting the public opinion; and it was divulged by one of the exiled deputies in 1797, that twenty millions were squandered for the same purpose during the campaign of that year.

If we add to these things, that many attempts have been made to corrupt the armies of the European princes, some of which have been too successful, we shall not be surprised at the unparalleled success which has accompanied their arms. Fisher, adjutant-general to the Archduke Charles, was accused of accepting from the Directory a bribe of L. 1000 each month; and when charged with his treachery he poisoned himself*. It is well known, too, that Bonaparte, in an unguarded moment, declared, that the Austrian army cost him more money than his own.

Assisted by such means as these, it was impossible that the French should not be successful,

* Baruel's Memoirs of Jacobinism.

ful, while no proper methods were taken to counteract them. In the history of the vanquished states we see how these means were employed.

The Austrian Netherlands were over-run by the French in an early period of the war. The inhabitants of that country were a brave, religious, peaceful people, and had opposed the harsh and impolitic innovations of the Emperor Joseph with much intrepidity and success: but their love of independence exposed them to the friendship of an ally who has become more intolerable than the most implacable enemy. The battle of Jemappe opened Flanders indeed to the armies of Dumourier; but it was to the influence of Mason Lodges, and to the instructions of Vandernoot, that Dumourier owed the kind reception which he met with from the unsuspecting Brabanters. Vandernoot had been a great patriot during the disputes between Joseph and the inhabitants of the Netherlands, and was now become a Jacobin. He wrote such a manifesto as he knew would impose upon his countrymen. This was published by Dumourier, and it acted as a charm: the French were hailed wherever they went as the deliverers of Flanders. But how little did this credulous people know the severe calamities which were approaching! The churches, which their devout minds regarded with reverence,

rence, were robbed of their plate. Taxes and contributions were levied to the amount of eight millions sterling, besides what was raised by pillage and confiscation. At length, when a requisition was issued to compel their young men to serve in the French army, they could bear their oppression no longer. They rose in arms; and chose for their motto, *It is better to die here than elsewhere*. They cut down the tree of liberty, tore the tri-coloured flag to pieces, or consigned it to the flames, and killed the French agents, or put them to flight. They have had many rencounters with their enemies; and if properly assisted might still repel them.

From the Austrian Netherlands the French advanced to Holland, where they were received with open arms. Weisshaupt had sent emissaries there so early as the year 1781, who contributed to spread the doctrines of liberty and equality. The Jacobin club also had numerous adherents, who were preparing the minds of the people for a great revolution. In Amsterdam there were forty political clubs, attended by a numerous band of associates, who co-operated with the Jacobins. Utrecht, Leyden, and Rotterdam, also abounded with adepts. Forty thousand men had enrolled themselves, who were ready to support Pichegru, and to massacre the British and Austrian troops when they should begin their retreat.

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The French army were received with loud acclamations as their deliverers. "We come not" (said they) to make you slaves; the French nation shall preserve to you your independence; personal safety shall be secured, and property protected." Seven days after this declaration, the Dutch government were invited, by their new friends and allies, to furnish the army with 200,000 quintals of wheat; 500,000 rations of hay; 200,000 rations of straw; 500,000 bushels of corn; 150,000 pairs of shoes; 20,000 pairs of boots; 20,000 coats and waistcoats; 200,000 shirts; 150,000 pairs of pantaloons; 40,000 pairs of breeches; 50,000 hats; and 12,000 oxen; to be delivered in two months. At the same time a hint was thrown out, that if they were not furnished in that time, they would be taken by force.

Having thus compelled the Dutch to clothe their naked troops, and to supply them *gratis* with provisions, they next required them to form an offensive and defensive alliance against Great Britain; hoping that, by the assistance of the Dutch navy, they would soon scour the seas of the British, whom they called the tyrants of the ocean. These protectors of Dutch independence demanded of their new allies to cede to France, as indemnities for the expences of the war, one of their provinces, two of their best fortified frontier

frontier towns, with the adjacent territories, to receive French garrisons into one of their principal sea ports, and, during war, into three of their strongest towns. Besides all other taxes, the Dutch paid in money L. 5,416,666 Sterling, and have supported 25,000 men upwards of four years, which is equal to more than two millions and a half more. Thus have the credulous Dutch been pillaged by their allies, the apostles of liberty, and the champions of the oppressed * !

By the alliance which the Dutch entered into, they have lost the Cape of Good Hope †, all their valuable possessions in the East and West Indies and America, great part of their fleet, and the

* M. Mallet du Pan's British Mercury, N^o X.

† It may be remembered, that the French, when negotiating with Lord Malmesbury at Lille, required as a preliminary, that Great Britain should restore the colonies which she had taken from the Dutch. It is now well known, that this demand was not made for the sake of the Dutch as the French pretended—it was to aggrandize themselves. “Do you imagine (said Reubel to Carnot) that it is for Holland I would demand the restitution of the Cape and Trincomale? The first object is that of recovering the possession of them; for which purpose, the Dutch must furnish the ships and the money, and afterwards I will clearly convince them that these colonies belong to us!” Such is the morality of the Directory, and such their friendship to their allies!—*Reply of Carnot to the Report made by Bailleul in the name of the Select Committee.*

the whole of their trade. The French promised to give them leave to form a new government suited to their inclinations. They accordingly chose a federal republic: but this not being after the model of France, and consequently not agreeable to their protectors, the constitution which they had framed was rejected. Holland is now therefore a conquered province of France. Deprived of its foreign trade, and weakened in its navy, its political and commercial influence is annihilated. Even worse calamities, if possible, threaten this unhappy country. The dikes which defended it against the inundations of the sea are falling to decay; so that the very existence of Holland is endangered.

Let us next follow the French in their conquests through Italy. The emissaries of the Illuminati and Jacobins were not confined to the Austrian Netherlands and Holland; legions of them swarmed in every town of Italy, in Venice, Milan, Rome, and Naples, preaching the doctrines of liberty and equality, and flattering the descendants of the ancient Romans with the hopes of reviving the grandeur of their ancestors. Bonaparte followed with his army, and swept the country as he advanced of all its wealth, carried off the valuable remains of Roman elegance, and plundered Italy of all those ornaments which

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have been admired for centuries, and respected in all former wars. More than 150 statues, 500 original paintings of those great masters, Raphael, Titian, Corregio, and the Carrachios, were taken away. The Vatican was robbed of its manuscripts, the churches of that plate which had been dedicated to sacred uses, and the banks were plundered. No respect was paid to the private property of the learned; the Abbé Spalanzani was robbed of a valuable collection of volcanic productions, which he had procured with much labour and care.

At Milan, Bonaparte sold by auction all the moveables belonging to the Archduke Ferdinand. The very floorings, marbles, door-cases, and window frames, were torn down and exposed to sale. Sometimes the same commodity was sold, confiscated, and again sold. This was the case with some bales of blue cloth, the property of private persons, which were seized at Milan. Besides these confiscations, near seven millions were raised by contribution, and great sums by requisition, for maintaining, accoutering, and lodging the armies. If to all these we were to add the sums which officers, commissioners, and soldiers have exacted, and the estimate of the plunder which has been seized, we should compute the whole at an immense sum. M. Mallet du

Pan

Pan has calculated the exactions in the conquered countries at 83 millions Sterling*.

But nothing that the rulers of France have done since the commencement of the revolution has so fully exposed their principles, and their schemes of universal conquest, as their conduct to the Swiss cantons. Every obligation derived from treaties and alliances; every motive arising from friendship, from gratitude and generosity; every reason deduced from the principles of liberty, and a respect to consistency of character; every consideration flowing from the feelings of humanity—concurred to demand of the French nation the most sacred regard to the independence and happiness of the inhabitants of Switzerland.

Since the time of Francis I. the Swiss cantons have been the allies of France, and have assisted her in many wars; in which their troops always manifested a high degree of valour, and an uncorrupted fidelity. Since the beginning of the French revolution, Switzerland had endeavoured to observe a rigid neutrality; but she had never ceased to be the friend of France. When the army of Moreau, in retreating from

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Germany,

* See British Mercury, N^o X.

Germany, was compelled to seek shelter and protection in Switzerland, the Swiss supplied them with provisions, escorted their baggage, and gave assistance to the wounded. Did not this hospitality deserve some gratitude? But if the rulers of France should be insensible to gratitude, it is surely impossible, one would think, that they should openly violate the principles for which they have been so long contending. The Swiss, according to the French maxims, were already free, for they had already formed a republic. Their manners were simple, and untainted with luxury; their minds were as enlightened as any nation in Europe; their religion was mild; their attachment to their government was strong; and they loved their country with a degree of tenderness and enthusiasm which scarcely any other nation has ever displayed. In a word, they were brave, well informed, virtuous, and happy. And shall these peaceful regions of the virtuous and the happy be polluted? Shall this delightful paradise be viewed with an eye of envy and malevolence, and be destined to become a scene of rapine and of blood? Does such injustice, such inhumanity, exist among the most impious and profane? Truth obliges us to declare, and for the sake of human nature we declare it with regret, that the conduct of France to Switzerland has been so unjust and cruel.

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From the commencement of the war, the Swiss had determined to observe a strict neutrality; but the French, anxious to furnish means for the gratification of their ambitious schemes, had early scattered among them those sparks of dissension which they hoped afterwards to blow into a flame. They first gained over M. Frisching, a magistrate of Berne, and a man of distinguished talents. They availed themselves of an election of ninety-two members to the sovereign council of Berne, to introduce many turbulent and seditious men to the administration of public affairs. They sent as their ambassador an insolent and intriguing man called Mengaud, who employed himself, in conjunction with other emissaries, in calumniating the members of the government, and in sowing the seeds of revolution.

Having prepared the way for the conquest of Switzerland, they endeavoured to find a pretext for invading it. They demanded the dismissal of Mr Wickham ambassador from the court of Great Britain. Mr Wickham generously withdrew of his own accord. They next required, that all who had been banished from the cantons on account of sedition should be recalled; that all the French emigrants who had taken refuge in Switzerland should be driven into exile; and that all the Swiss officers who were knights of

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St Louis should be deprived of the ensigns of their valour. These were rather the arbitrary commands of haughty conquerors than the language which one independent state expects from another. All these unreasonable demands were however granted ; it was therefore necessary to have recourse to another artifice.

The Directory pretended that a petition had been sent from the Pays de Vaud, calling upon the French republic to guarantee those rights to the inhabitants which France was bound to protect by ancient treaties. This petition, if it was really sent from the Pays de Vaud, was the production of a few turbulent men who had been gained over by the French, and did not accord with the general sentiments of the people. As to the ancient treaties referred to, they were the base fabrication of the Directory. A French army was, however, appointed to enter Switzerland, while a slight insurrection was excited by the intriguing emissaries. The Swiss had already sacrificed every thing except their independence ; but as they now found by experience that every concession was followed by a new encroachment, and that destruction threatened to overwhelm their happy state, they began to rouse the remains of their ancient spirit.

In the beginning of 1798 twenty-four battalions of the militia of the Pays de Vaud renewed their

their oath of allegiance with their arms in their hands. An army of 20,000 men was put under the command of Colonel Weifs, and 60,000 loyal inhabitants were ready to join his standard: but this man, either from treachery or cowardice, or a want of capacity to act, deserted his post and resigned his command, and thus the Pays de Vaud were lost.

Meanwhile the French emissaries were scattering libels, suborning the troops, threatening the patriots, and careffing the factious. The supreme council was divided between two opinions. The patriotic party urged the most vigorous measures; while the other party, either from treachery or imbecility of mind, proposed to conciliate the protection of the Directory by changing their constitution, and adopting a new system on the model of France. But uncontrolled ambition, and insatiable avarice, were not to be gratified by such concessions. The envoy Mengaud demanded, that all the magistrates should resign their functions, and that a provisional government should be formed, to which none of them should be admitted. These arrogant demands again kindled the indignation of the Swiss, and 25,000 men were marched to the frontiers*.

Meanwhile

* See M. Mallet du Pan's Historical Essay on the Dissolution of the Helvetic League.

Meanwhile Brune the French general advanced at the head of an army. This man, who had been formerly the associate of Marat in the publication of an inflammatory newspaper at Paris, was well acquainted with all the revolutionary artifices. He announced by proclamation the benevolence of his designs. "My brave soldiers are your friends, your brethren. Neither ambition nor cupidity shall dishonour our proceedings; my only object in entering your country is to punish the guilty usurpers of your sovereignty. Dismiss all alarm for your personal safety, your property, your religion, and your political independence. These are all guaranteed to you by the French government." These, however, were but mere words, and in a short time after were either forgotten or disregarded by the French conquerors.

Under the pretence of a negotiation, Brune obtained a truce for fifteen days, that another army of 22,000 men from the Rhine, under General Schauenbourg, might arrive before hostilities should commence. During this interval, legions of French emissaries were scattering money among the common people, drawing frightful pictures of the consequences of war, and perfidiously insinuating among the soldiers that their officers wished to obtain a revolution, and had promised to betray them.

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When the reinforcements arrived, the French violated the truce, and made an attack upon the Swiss. The gallant and patriotic D'Erlach was placed at the head of the Helvetic army, which demanded with impatience to be led out to battle. But when the order to engage was going to be given, the other faction in the council, taking advantage of the absence of a hundred members who were along with the army, recalled the powers given to M. D'Erlach, and granted the humiliating demands of Mengaud. When these news reached the army, they began to mutiny, from the persuasion that their officers were traitors. To confirm this opinion, the French forged letters from General D'Erlach, in which he engaged to betray his army, and to cause its defeat. When these letters were shewn to the Swiss soldiers, dissension and jealousy began to prevail, and henceforth they were afraid to follow their brave and virtuous commander to battle. They rose against their officers, and massacred many of them.

But though the infamous plots of the French had divided the Swiss, nothing but force could oblige them to surrender their independence; for the majority were still uncorrupted. Had the French paid any regard to the law of nations, had they acted like men of honour, had they not had recourse to the most atrocious artifices, the Swiss would have made a formidable resistance.

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The common people were not so easily seduced as in other nations: they were indeed deceived; but when they saw that nothing but conquest and plunder could satisfy the French, they made a noble and gallant defence. The old and the young exerted themselves to the utmost. Two hundred convicts being permitted to join the French, to return to their homes, or to fight for the state, they all preferred the independence and honour of their country to their own personal liberty; they joined their countrymen, and most of them perished in the field of battle. Even the women displayed the most heroic courage, and performed prodigies of valour. But the unfortunate Swiss were overpowered by superiority of numbers; they were massacred in thousands; and the remainder were scattered and compelled to yield. The French committed the most wanton barbarities. They laid towns and villages in ashes, they destroyed the cottages, confiscated the ecclesiastical and feudal property, demanded a requisition of young men, imposed contributions, destroyed the liberty of the press, ravished the wives and daughters of the virtuous peasantry, and turned the beautiful and happy country of Switzerland into a desolation.

The picture here exhibited of the character of the rulers of France would become still stronger were we to trace their machinations through every

very country. We should find conspiracies in Russia excited by French emissaries. In the conduct of the Directory to the King of Sardinia, we see the grossest perfidy, the most evident violation of treaties. In America, we discover their vile intrigues and their venality: None of us surely has forgotten the modest proposal of Talleyrand de Perigord to the American ambassador, that if the States of America would give him L. 50,000 he would speak to the Directory in their favour. If we look to the east, we are informed that the French emissaries have made the tour of Asia Minor and Persia, and that they visited Egypt before the arrival of Bonaparte. We surely cannot overlook the invasion of Egypt; an invasion undertaken in contempt of subsisting treaties, and in opposition to the most unexampled friendship and fidelity on the part of the Turkish government. But it would be endless to enumerate all the acts of oppression, of injustice, and cruelty, which the rulers of France have committed.

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CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

ACCOUNT OF THE CONSPIRACIES WHICH HAVE BEEN FORMED BY THE JACOBINS AND THEIR ASSOCIATES IN THOSE COUNTRIES WITH WHICH FRANCE IS ENGAGED IN WAR.

HAVING now given a short view of the conduct of the rulers of France to neutral and friendly nations, let us trace their intrigues among those nations also who have been her declared enemies since her ambitious projects were discovered.

The manifesto which was issued to all the lodges of Germany, with the signature of the Duke of Orleans, has been already mentioned. Afterwards a plan was formed between Mirabeau, and Mauvillon his insinuator, to revolutionize Germany; and this plan was transmitted to all the lodges and political clubs. This, it may be supposed, would be very acceptable to the Illuminati, and to all those masons over whom they had extended their influence. They looked towards France with the ardent hope that their schemes were now to be executed. They had imposed upon the Emperor Joseph II. who for a long time afforded them protection. But that prince was

was indignant when he discovered their connection with the Duke of Orleans, and the intrigues which they had employed to get themselves promoted to the offices of the state. His successor Leopold received full information from Professor Hoffman of the projects of the conspirators. He learned that Mirabeau carried on an extensive correspondence with Germany, and particularly with Vienna. He found that there were seven agents of the Jacobins in that city, who, along with the Illuminati, circulated papers hostile to the laws and government. He accordingly determined to make a vigorous opposition to the diffusion of the new principles, entered into a treaty with Prussia, and engaged in the war against France. Leopold was therefore peculiarly odious to the Jacobins, and at length fell a victim to their rage. The fate of this amiable prince was announced in a Strasbough newspaper two days before his death. This newspaper, mentioning the treaty between Austria and Prussia, says, "Hence politicians pretend, that the union between the two courts will be consolidated. They are certainly in the right to make the French believe so; but in despotic countries, where the fate of several millions of men depends on a *bit of paste*, or on the *rupture of a little vein*, calculations of that kind deserve no attention." This paper was published on the 26th of February 1792.

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The Emperor of Germany *died suddenly* on the 1st of March, not without the suspicion of being poisoned : and the King of Sweden, who was preparing to lead an army against France, was murdered on the night between the 15th and 16th of the same month by an assassin, who had been dispatched by the Jacobin club.

The present Emperor Francis II. upon coming to the throne, dismissed all the Italian cooks of his father ; and while he entered into a vigorous prosecution of the war against the armies of the Jacobins, applied to the diet of Ratisbon for a general decree to suppress all their secret societies. But such was the influence which the Jacobins had obtained in the council of the empire, that the Emperor could not procure an interdict against them.

In the year 1793, a congress of reformers was held at Vienna, when a plan, consisting of 30 articles, was adopted to seize upon the public treasuries, the powder magazines, and the members of government, and to form a national assembly for all Germany. This plan was fortunately discovered.

A new conspiracy was formed in the year 1795 at Vienna ; by which it was intended to raise an insurrection similar to that which was excited in Paris and Versailles on the 5th and 6th

6th of October, to seize the person of the Emperor, and to oblige him to sign the Declaration of the Rights of Man. The conspirators proposed to treat him with external respect, while they were to issue orders in his name, to confiscate the estates of the nobility, to establish the reign of liberty and equality; and, in fine, to effect a revolution like that of France. This formidable plot was discovered by a very singular accident three days before it was to be accomplished. One of the conspirators called Mehalovich, who had been a capuchin, still kept the habit of the order in his house. One of his servants having found this habit one day, amused himself with trying it on; but hearing his master at the door, he ran below a bed to conceal himself. Mehalovich entered the apartment with two of the conspirators, and began a conversation on the subject. The servant overheard the whole plan, and immediately communicated it to the ministers of the Emperor.

Conspiracies of the same kind were formed in the King of Prussia's dominions. In the account which has been given of the Illuminati and Germanic Union, the reader will remember the influence which Nicholai and his associates had acquired. It is natural, therefore, to conclude, that when the French revolution broke out, they would zealously promote its progress by the methods

thods which had succeeded in France. One plot deserves particular attention, because it shows, either that the Jacobins of France communicated their plans of insurrection to countries distant from one another, or that a correspondence was kept up by conspirators in different nations. The plot alluded to was similar, in every respect, to that which was concerted by Watt and Downie in Edinburgh, in the year 1794.

These facts will enable us to explain the unexampled success of the French general Custine in the campaign which he made in Germany. This man was neither distinguished for talents nor bravery; he was not supported by a numerous army, nor a formidable artillery; yet in a few months he took the strong towns of Worms, Spire, and Mentz. But the gates of these fortresses were opened to him by the treachery and influence of the Illuminati and Jacobins, who swarmed on the confines of Germany and France.

Since the commencement of the French revolution, many attempts have been made in Great Britain and Ireland to introduce the principles of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, to overturn our venerable constitution, and to substitute all the romantic and dangerous innovations which have been admitted into France.

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Whether all these attempts originated in the influence of the Jacobins, in the contagious nature of their principles, or arose from the same ambitious and democratical spirit which introduced them into France, has not yet been discovered. Probably all these causes combined. It is asserted, upon good authority, that 1,500 of the banditti of Orleans had come over to London, with the intention of exciting insurrections in that metropolis. This produced the alien bill.

Many philosophers espoused the new principles. These were led, by theoretic views of government, to adopt the opinion, that the season was now arrived when man was to shake off all those obstructions which had hitherto retarded his progress, and when he was to rise at once to the dignity, perfection, and happiness of which he is capable. The well disposed among the common people were enchanted with the mere sounds of liberty, equality, and the rights of man, or with the romantic ideas which they connected with them. All the discontented, the profligate, and the ambitious, who saw no prospect of obtaining any influence or honour under the present established government, embraced the principles of France as the most infallible means of gratifying their aspiring minds. These seduced great numbers of the common people by a variety of artifices formerly unknown in this country.

The first society which calls our attention is that of the United Irishmen, established in the year 1791. The object of this association was to overturn the church and state, to dissolve the connection subsisting between the two countries, and to introduce a system of government like that of France. The plan which was adopted to accomplish these ends was systematic like that of the Illuminati and Jacobins, extensive in its range, and comprehensive in its resources.

The first thing proposed by these conspirators was, to make themselves powerful by their numbers and by their union, and formidable to all who should attempt to bring them to punishment. Clubs were therefore formed in every part of the kingdom, who were to employ every art in order to draw men into their association. These clubs assumed a form of government resembling that of the illuminized lodges on the Continent. They established four gradations of committees: the Baronial, which sent delegates to the County Committee; the County, which sent delegates to the Provincial Committee; the Provincial, which elected an Executive Directory, consisting of five persons, who superintended the whole association, though their names were known to none of the order, except to the secretaries of the Provincial Committee.

Every member was bound by an oath to be faithful

faithful to the common cause, and to conceal all the plans and transactions of the society. To deter the friends of their country from watching their machinations, it was resolved to put informers to death: if any of the members should be apprehended, an attempt was to be made to rescue them; if they should be brought to a trial, the witnesses were to be assassinated; and if condemned, revenge was to be taken on the jurymen who found them guilty, and on the magistrate who passed sentence.

In order to raise enemies to the state, calumnies were to be published against the king, against the members of administration, and against every person whom they suspected of being hostile to their views.

They circulated with industry the seditious works of Paine; and when these were prohibited, they disseminated their principles in newspapers, pamphlets, and hand-bills. To increase their means of resistance, they solicited assistance from France; they formed themselves into a military corps, and were privately disciplined; they collected arms and ammunition, and concealed them below ground, sometimes inclosing them in coffins, and burying them with the solemnities of a funeral in the church-yards.

From the year 1793, a regular correspondence was carried on by this society with the rulers of

France; and though the discoveries which were made had increased the vigilance of administration, the conspirators did not desist from their original design. Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Arthur O'Connor met General Hoche on the confines of France, and arranged with him the plan of invasion which was attempted in December 1796. When this expedition failed, Lewins and M'Nevin were sent over in 1797, to propose to the French Directory a second invasion of Ireland, and to counteract the negotiations for peace which Lord Malmshury was carrying on at Lisle. Admiral de Winter was accordingly ordered to take on board a great body of troops which were destined for Ireland. But De Winter failed without the troops, and was completely defeated by the illustrious Lord of Camperdown on the memorable 11th of October.

After this event, the French Directory urged the leaders of the United Irish to open insurrection. A newspaper, called the Union Star, published at Belfast, had already given a list of the proscribed victims; adding these words, "Perhaps some arm, more lucky than the rest, may reach their hearts, and free the world from bondage." In February 1798, the plan of insurrection was adopted; Dublin was to be seized, and the camp at Lehaunston to be taken either
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by treachery or by force. Mr Henry and John Sheares communicated their design to Captain Armstrong, an officer in the king's service, hoping to persuade him to contribute his assistance. But he, nobly preferring his duty to every other consideration, divulged the conspiracy, and the leaders were seized. A violent proclamation was found in the handwriting of John Sheares, promising an ample recompense to all who should join the conspirators, and threatening with the most inexorable vengeance all who should oppose them. The cruelties which were committed during the insurrection in Ireland are too well known to require any description.

Political societies were also established in Great Britain, both in England and Scotland. An assembly, styling itself "A General Convention of Delegates from the Societies of the Friends of the People throughout Scotland," met at Edinburgh in December 1792. In November 1793, the name of this association was changed into that of "The British Convention of Delegates of the People, associated to obtain Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments." All the new republican names which had been introduced into France after the death of the king were adopted by this assembly; such as, sections, committees of organization, of instruction, of finance, of secrecy. They granted the honours of sitting; made

made honourable mention in their minutes of patriotic donations; dated their minutes in the first year of the British Convention; instituted primary assemblies and departments; and were presented by their sections with a variety of motions and reports, beginning with the words *Vive la Convention*, and ending with *Ca Ira*. They seem to have been agitated with a violent enthusiasm for French innovations, and were ready to adopt all the plans of the Jacobin club. This society was contemptible, if the rank and character of the members alone be considered; but its conduct was so insolent and daring, and its plans so seditious, that it was impossible for the public magistrate to look on in silence. It was therefore dissolved by Mr Elder, then Lord Provost of Edinburgh, who went in person to the place of meeting; and with a degree of coolness and politeness which surprised and disappointed the reformers, put an end to the assembly. Skirving the secretary, Margarot and Gerald, delegates from the London Corresponding Society, were transported to Botany Bay; and the British Convention was finally dissolved.

In England similar societies were also instituted. The Constitutional Society, which had existed long before, now assumed a new character. A new association, called the London Corresponding Society, was founded in 1792. These

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carried on a correspondence with many societies which had been formed in different parts of the kingdom. They formally addressed the Jacobin Club and the National Convention of France, after it had destroyed all regular government, and was proceeding to the trial of the king. They extolled the horrid conspiracy of the 10th of August, and called it a glorious victory. They elected some of the most furious Jacobins honorary members, and entered in their books two speeches made in the National Convention, with the express purpose of procuring the condemnation of the king.

On the 20th of January 1794, they proposed to assemble a general convention, and published an address to the people of England, recommending their proposal. They assumed so bold a language, that they seemed to bid defiance to the laws. They exhorted each other "to prepare for the struggle which they meditated;" and declared, that they expected redress, "not from Parliament, nor from the executive government, but from themselves, and from their own strength and valour." To prepare the minds of the people more effectually for this convention, emissaries were sent to every town and village to explain the necessity of a general confederacy of the people to procure the reform which they pretended to desire. Paine's works, and other seditious writings,

tings; were distributed with much zeal and activity. But notwithstanding all these exertions, the convention did not assemble; the secretaries and several members of the two societies being arrested, as well as the secretaries and leading members of the societies at Sheffield and Norwich. Three of these were tried and acquitted; but the acquittal was not so much owing to their innocence, as to the modern ideas of treason, which had so much limited the crime, that it was scarcely any longer possible to commit it.

The discoveries of seditious and treasonable practices which were made by these trials, rendered it necessary to suspend the habeas corpus act. This disconcerted the measures of the conspirators, and obliged them to conduct themselves with more reserve. Instead, however, of relinquishing their original plans, they assembled in October 1795 a great multitude of people in a field near London, where they carried on debates of the most seditious nature. To the inflammatory harangues delivered at this meeting, those disgraceful and atrocious outrages are ascribed which were committed against the person and dignity of our Illustrious Sovereign, when on his way to perform the great and important duties of his exalted station. These criminal transactions, which must raise the indignation of every good citizen, rendered a new law necessary as

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an additional safeguard to the first magistrate of the kingdom. To prevent for the future such multitudes from being assembled for seditious purposes, another law was passed, which prohibited all public meetings consisting of more than fifty persons to be held without a public advertisement and the presence of a magistrate.

Determined still to persevere, the London Corresponding Society sent delegates to the country clubs, to instruct them how to evade these laws. As a pretext for their associations, the delegates were to declare that their sole object was a reform of the House of Commons; they were to convince the people, that they had a natural and constitutional right to obtain this reform; and they were to recommend to the people to hold meetings, consisting of forty-nine members, in order to elude the penalties of the laws. These things being done, the delegates were instructed "to awaken the sleeping spirit of liberty; to inculcate the necessity of pursuing the common object to the scaffold or *to the field*, if inquiry and discussion should be ineffectual." That the Corresponding Society wished to urge the people to insurrection, this strong language proves incontrovertibly; but the new laws threw difficulties in the way which they were unable to surmount; the magistrates watched them with vigilance, and the people were afraid to attend their meetings.

The people being thus kept out of the way of the contagion, the conspirators seem next to have bent their thoughts to a new scheme more formidable than any which they had yet attempted.

In the year 1797 a mutiny took place in the fleet. This was the most alarming event which Britain ever beheld. While our magistrates performed the functions of their office with indefatigable activity, and our fleets and armies protected us by their valour from foreign dangers, our prospects, though sometimes dark, were often brightened by hope. But when our fleet, which had been long the glory and defence of our island, forgot its character and its duty, to conspire against the safety of its native country, the most sagacious began to despond and to tremble with the foreboding apprehension, that the sun of Britain was setting for ever. A resistance to authority so systematic, a conduct so opposite to the patriotic and generous character of British seamen—had never sullied their name; and can therefore only be attributed to a method of seduction the most artful and villanous that ever was devised. The secrecy and the union observed in this conspiracy, indeed the whole of the plan, was evidently derived from the political societies. By the most undoubted evidence, it appears, that many of the leaders of this mutiny, even

even in the early stages of it, were United Irishmen.

About the same time, attempts equally artful and systematic were made to withdraw the soldiers from their allegiance. Emissaries visited many regiments, distributed seditious hand-bills, and administered an oath of fidelity to such of the soldiers as they could corrupt. These hand-bills were sometimes thrown over the walls of barracks in the night for many weeks together. But the soldiers uniformly displayed the most inflexible integrity, and resisted all the arts of the conspirators. They testified such indignation as none but good citizens could feel; and with a degree of generosity unexampled, offered great sums for the discovery of the traitors who had attempted to seduce them.

Meanwhile, the conspirators throughout the kingdom became more violent from repeated disappointment, and were ready to engage in the most desperate enterprizes. The London Corresponding Society no longer talked of a reform in Parliament, of annual elections, and universal suffrage; they declared that the object of their association was to form a republic by the assistance of France. Plans for procuring arms were concerted among the leading members of the disaffected societies, to enable them to co-operate with the French troops, which they expected

would soon arrive to invade this country. In one of these meetings it was proposed to excite at the same time a general insurrection in the metropolis and in different parts of the kingdom. The king, the royal family, and many of the members of both houses of Parliament, were to be seized or assassinated. This diabolical scheme could not, however, be effected without a greater number of accomplices than they were able to procure. Methods were therefore devised to increase their numbers.

As the plan of the Irish Union seemed best adapted for this purpose, it was now introduced into different parts of England and Scotland. Forty divisions of United Englishmen were formed in London, twenty of which held stated meetings. It was intended that Great Britain should be divided into districts, and that a central society should be established in the principal town of every district, which was to carry on a correspondence with the chief society in London, and with the smaller societies of the district to which it belonged. These societies began to form themselves chiefly in those western parts of England and Wales which carried on frequent communication with Ireland, and in those places where United Irishmen happened to reside. Liverpool became the seat of a central society, and Manchester of another, which frequently sent delegates to the
counties

counties of York, Derby, Nottingham, and Cheshire, and even to Edinburgh and Glasgow.

In Manchester and the adjacent country, a society of United Englishmen had been established in 1797, which consisted of fifty divisions, and in the following year they increased to eighty. Each of these divisions contained not less than fifteen members, and could not exceed thirty-six.

This new association observed the most rigid secrecy. They used cyphers or mysterious words in their epistolary correspondence; but they had recourse to writing as seldom as possible. They employed itinerant emissaries to convey their intelligence, who recognised the members of the association by secret signs. They had the same gradations of committees as the United Irish, and were governed by the National Committee of England, whose dictates were implicitly obeyed, though the names and characters of the members were unknown to almost the whole association.

Upon the same plan a society of United Scotsmen was instituted in the year 1797. This association first appeared in Glasgow and the county of Ayr; from which it extended itself to the counties of Renfrew, Lanark, Dunbarton, Perth, Fife, and Angus.

All these societies have applied themselves with unwearied perseverance to the seduction of the fleet and army. In some ships oaths have been tendered

tendered to the sailors, in order to attach them to the United Irishmen, and to engage them to have nothing to do with the king or his government. In other ships the mutineers have bound themselves to carry their vessels to France, and to kill every officer that should oppose their treacherous design. In one instance, a degree of villanous hypocrisy was exhibited, which has never been surpassed. The mutineers on board the *Glory* presented an address to their Captain, couched in the most dutiful and loyal expressions, while they were conspiring against every officer in the ship. In several instances, a connection between the mutineers and corresponding societies has been proved by unquestionable evidence.

The Committee of Secrecy appointed by the House of Commons to investigate this subject, declare, that there is good reason to believe, that, early in 1798, it was seriously in agitation among the conspirators in Ireland to convey in small vessels to England a great number of United Irishmen. They were to make their way to the capital in small bodies, where, in concert with the Corresponding Society, they were to raise an insurrection, in order to distract the military force, and to prevent government from sending reinforcements to crush the rebellion in Ireland. Happily for this country the scheme was laid
aside

aside from the timidity of the Corresponding Society, who refused to embark in so daring an enterprise. A new plan of insurrection was therefore concerted, which was not likely to miscarry from the fears of future danger. A band of the most desperate of the Irish employed on the river Thames were to be selected, who were to be bound to secrecy, fidelity, and obedience, by a new oath, and to be stimulated by the most liberal promises. They were not to be informed of the service required of them till the moment of execution. They were then to be armed with daggers, to be formed into three divisions, and under the conduct of approved leaders, were, at the same instant, to attack both houses of Parliament, the Tower, and the Bank.

This formidable conspiracy has hitherto been prevented by the vigilance and activity of government; who have on all occasions disconcerted the measures of the seditious, by apprehending the leaders when their schemes were just ripe for execution. But though thwarted and baffled in all their machinations, they still return to the charge, resolved to employ methods more vigorous and irresistible, in order to overturn the constitution, and to destroy all who oppose their perfidious designs. They still turn an eye of hope to France, and trust that they shall ultimately

mately be successful*. But we hope that the wisdom and activity of government, supported by the exertions of every good man, and aided by the blessing of heaven, will disappoint their machinations, and, following the model of the Supreme administration, will endeavour to educe good even from the greatest evils that can afflict society. A union between Great Britain and Ireland would be a generous and enlightened policy on the part of Great Britain, and the best means of improving the character and promoting the happiness of the Irish nation.

CHAP.

* See the Report of the Committee of Secrecy of the House of Commons.

CHAP. XIII.

OF THE MEANS NECESSARY TO CHECK THE AMBITIOUS PROJECTS AND DANGEROUS PRINCIPLES OF THE FRENCH.

THE nature and consequences of the principles which have lately been disseminated over the world, ought to fix the attention of every good man. They are so destructive to the peace of society, and so ruinous to human nature, that no exertion can be too vigorous, no sacrifice too great, which can prevent or repel such dreadful calamities; for were the French revolution to continue for a few years more to make such ravages as it has hitherto done, men would become savages, and the earth would be converted into a desert. It is therefore not only the interest, but it is the duty of every man, and especially of every man possessed of power, to consider how these great evils can be remedied. The French are formidable to all mankind, not only on account of their principles, they are formidable also on account of their ambitious schemes of universal conquest. Till these are checked and blasted, there can be no happiness nor tranquillity upon earth. Let us therefore enquire

what are the best means which can be employed for restraining them.

In civil society, laws are made, and punishments inflicted, in order to deter the unjust and violent from depriving other men of their property, of their character, of their liberty, and their life. This is using terror and force to remove those evils which religion and morality cannot cure; but when one nation invades the property and liberty of another, and puts every one to death who presumes to oppose its unjust and violent designs, what is to be done? How is this national crime to be punished, this violation of justice to be remedied? We know no other means which can check tyrannical ambition but the influence of terror and the restraints of force. War, then, when carried on in defence of those blessings which as moral agents we are bound to preserve, becomes inevitably necessary. It is justifiable upon the same grounds as the punishment of crimes; for what the criminal law is to society, war is to a nation. To prove that the war with France is just, we have only to shew, that our national rights have been attacked, and that war is the only way by which we can preserve them.

If there be any person who is doubtful whether Great Britain was driven by necessity or led by choice into the present war, let him consult
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the records of the French Convention, or the books which have been published by persons who were acquainted with their ambitious plans. Dummourier asserts, that the Convention forced Britain into a war. Brissot boasted, that he and his associates compelled Louis XVI. to declare war against Austria; "because without the war the revolution of the 10th of August would not have taken place, nor would France have been a republic." He affirms, that "Britain did not begin to arm till three months after France*." Camille Desmoulins avows, that to disorganise Europe was one of the sublime vocations of the Conventions. Chauffard lays open the system which was formed by the Convention: he confesses, that it was resolved to strip the Emperor of Germany of the Austrian Netherlands, to deprive the king of Prussia of his possessions in Westphalia, to ruin the Bank of England by operations in Holland, to substitute a popular government in that country in order to place its forces under the command of France, to unite these forces with her own in order to destroy irrecoverably the trade of Britain with the rest of Europe, and afterwards to take possession of the British colonies in the East and West Indies†. If more

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* Brissot's Appeal to his Constituents.

† Harper's Observations.

evidence be necessary to prove the implacable enmity of France against this country, Carnot, formerly a member of the Directory, will inform us, that it was determined to prosecute the war against Great Britain till she should be exterminated as a nation from the face of the earth. If then there has ever been a war since the beginning of the world which was founded in justice and equity, the war which Britain is now carrying on is that war. It is not a war to determine petty quarrels, to settle speculative points in theology, or to fix the boundaries of a province or a state—it is a war which concerns men of every religion, Mahometans, Jews, and Christians; which involves the fate of all nations, and affects the most important interests of mankind—it is a war which respects the moral government of God, which is undertaken to assert his providence, to vindicate his laws, to preserve all those inestimable blessings which he has bestowed on man, and to transmit them to future generations. If ever there was an event in the history of man which ought to inspire the courage of the brave, and to unite the exertions of the powerful, that event is the French revolution. He who forms his plans with skill, who combats with vigour, and gains important victories in this war, may boast more illustrious trophies than those which were gained in the wars of Alexander, of Julius Cæsar,

Cæſar, of Tamerlane, and of all thoſe warriors whoſe ſplendid atchievements are recorded in the annals of hiſtory.

But it may be objected, that the French are ſo powerful that it is impoſſible to ſubdue them. Were this aſſertion true, war would not be the leſs eligible; for notwithstanding all the deplorable calamities which attend it, war is a thouſand times leſs dreadful than a peace which would bereave us of every thing for which life is worth preſerving. Famine, war, and peſtilence, have hitherto been conſidered as the ſcourges of nations; but they are ſlight and tranſient evils compared with the horrors which accompany the arms of France.

But though the French have rendered themſelves formidable, we have no reaſon to deſpair; for no nation ever was ruined but by its own crimes. Hitherto, indeed, we have been miſtaken in all our calculations concerning the French revolution, and the duration of the war: but we did not take into our computation the extraordinary reſources to which the rulers have applied. We did not reckon upon the property of the nobility and clergy of France, which has been eſtimated at 250 millions ſterling. We did not allow ourſelves to ſuppoſe, that 83 millions more would have been exacted by forfeitures and requiſitions in the conquered countries. We did
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not duly consider the wonderful force of that enthusiasm which accompanies romantic ideas of liberty, especially when supported by a profusion of rewards and promises, and unbounded liberty to plunder. With such advantages, it was not difficult to collect immense forces.

But the situation of France must now be much changed. The violent convulsions which have for ten years agitated that unhappy country, must shake and destroy all confidence in the new system. We know the natural effect which merciless tyranny produces upon men; we know, that confiscating the property of rich men without distinction; that frequent exorbitant demands of money, and requisitions of men; that imprisonment and exile, without any evidence of guilt; and that assassinations and massacres, and public executions without a fair trial, are actions which every man sees to be criminal, and which must rouse the indignation and exhaust the wearied patience of all who are doomed to feel their consequences.

We must also remember, that the resources which enabled the French to carry on the war are now diminished, if not almost drained. For though they have had the command of more wealth than ever was possessed by any government since the world began, their extravagance has been also unparalleled; the peculation of

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commissaries, and indeed of the rulers in general, has been beyond all bounds. Jourdan declared, that for the two years during which he commanded an army of 150,000 men, though a ration was allowed to each man every day, his troops never received above 10,000. It requires no arguments to prove, that excessive prodigality always leads to inevitable ruin; that if every man entrusted with the public money squander it profusely, and embezzle as much of it as he can, the public coffers will be left empty, and universal bankruptcy must ensue. Symptoms of this dreadful calamity begin to appear. In the year 1797, while the revenue was only thirty millions, the monthly expenditure was sixty-five. The La Caisse des Comptes Courans of Paris stopped payment in November last; an event which was immediately followed by twenty-eight bankruptcies in Paris, and thirty-two in the other great towns. This want of money can only be supplied by plunder. But there are no wealthy nobility nor clergy in France from whom the Directory can obtain contributions or forfeitures. They cannot raise by taxes half the money which they require; for the country is impoverished, and cannot pay them. They cannot return to the Netherlands, to Holland, or to Italy, to make new requisitions; for their avarice has left nothing

thing there which they thought worth the trouble of carrying away.

If, then, during the present campaign, it be possible to prevent the French from plundering, the war must undergo a complete change. The French armies have now for some time been chiefly subsisted by plunder: this has a tendency to make them mercenary; and we know that mercenary troops are attached only to those who pay them lavishly. We have read of instances of mercenaries taking up arms against their employers, when they withheld the rewards which they were unable to bestow. We may also add, that the enthusiasm of liberty which at first inflamed the courage of the French army can only be very transient: for the deceitful charm which formerly surrounded the new liberty must soon be dispelled, and consequently the enthusiasm which it kindled will vanish into air.

France has lately experienced another calamity almost as formidable as the want of money. Various causes have combined to diminish the number of its forces, and to render it difficult to obtain supplies, while Austria is reinforced by the powerful acquisition of Russia. The increasing unpopularity of the war, from the numerous acts of violence and oppression to which it has given birth, must necessarily make the young men

men averse from joining the standard of the Directory. But this is not the only circumstance which tends to lessen the armies of France; the Directory themselves have reduced their forces by the Don Quixote expedition of Bonaparte to Egypt. Whatever were the motives for engaging in this expedition, one thing is evident, that had the enemies of France employed all their ingenuity to form a plan that would be ruinous to the affairs of the present government of that country, they could not have devised any scheme more destructive than the expedition to Egypt. By this wild project, France has lost eleven ships of the line, an army of 40,000 men, and more than 20,000 seamen, besides being deprived of the assistance of her most celebrated and successful generals. It appears from the intercepted letters of the officers of Bonaparte, that the army have since their arrival been falling a prey to the unhealthiness of the climate, and to the fatigues of war, while great numbers have been cut off by the incessant attacks of the Mamelukes and Arabs*. To complete their misfortunes, the plague has broke in among them, which will probably carry off the rest.

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* See Copies of Original Letters from the Army of Bonaparte in Egypt, intercepted by the Fleet under the Command

It is now difficult for the Directory to procure soldiers, even by the violent method of requisition. In October last, it was thought necessary to make a law, by which every requisition-man who left France should be considered as an emigrant; that all his property should be forfeited; and not his own property only, but also all that belonged to his father and mother, and other kindred in the ascending line. If then the Directory feel a deficiency of men and money, how are they to carry on the war?

But there is also another circumstance in the present situation of France which deserves to be noticed. Its frontier has been so much extended by the conquest of Switzerland, that Carnot, whose military knowledge few will dispute, affirms, that 40,000 additional troops will be necessary to guard this acquisition. The conquest of Switzerland has also created a new and powerful enemy in the brave uncorrupted inhabitants of that country. Great armies, too, must be kept in Holland, in Flanders, and in Italy, to prevent the indignant inhabitants of these countries from asserting their independence. The
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mand of Lord Nelson. These exhibit the wretched situation of the French army, destitute of every thing; and the disappointment of the officers, who are all eager to return to France.

French troops must therefore either be very much divided, or they will soon lose by insurrections all the conquests which they have gained.

Such is the situation of France, as far as we can discover it from examining the recent productions of those who ought to be best informed. A vigorous and uninterrupted prosecution of the war must undoubtedly in the end be successful; for tho' vice may flourish for a time, it cannot prosper for ever. We must indeed make great sacrifices; but we should remember, that the sacrifices which we make, are offerings presented to virtue and religion, which cannot possibly be cast away. The magnanimity of the nation has indeed in this respect been unexampled. When did any other nation come voluntarily forward, and present near two millions sterling as a free gift in addition to the heavy taxes which necessity requires! At present, too, when the tax upon income is about to be levied, the voice of the murmurer is not to be heard. Let him who thinks that he has reason to complain, reflect, that the French required of their allies the Dutch, not the tenth of their income, but the third of their whole property.

But though war be the only possible way of restraining the pestilent ambition of the Directory, it will not be a sufficient antidote against their pernicious principles. As we know, however,

that these principles have been disseminated by secret societies, and the licentiousness of the press, it is easy to perceive by what means they may be counteracted.

As secret societies can never be beneficial, though they have it always in their power to be hurtful to a state, they ought to be abolished. No body of men, however respectable, ought to be permitted to administer an oath of secrecy; because no business ought to come before a meeting of private gentlemen that can require such an oath. Whatever is virtuous and honourable is open as the day, and never shuns the public view; but whatever seeks shelter in darkness, and safety in oaths of secrecy, wears a suspicious aspect, and warns us to beware of treasons and conspiracies. It ought therefore to be an established rule in every regular government, that no person except a public magistrate should be permitted to administer an oath. There can be no doubt of the propriety of abolishing all political associations, such as that of the Corresponding Society, the Constitutional Society, and the Societies of United Irishmen, Englishmen, and Scotsmen. But it may be asked, Ought these observations to be extended to the Free Masons? Undoubtedly they ought. If free masonry be a good institution, it ought to be made public for the benefit of society: If it be liable to censure, it ought

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to be given up: If it be a trifling amusement, still it ought to be laid aside; because to bind a man by an oath to conceal what is trifling, is to diminish the value of an obligation of the most solemn nature and of the utmost importance to society. But farther, we are assured, from the example of France, that mason lodges are vehicles fitted for seditious and treasonable conspiracies; and it is not improbable that the danger from them may increase when all other secret societies are dissolved. We have satisfactory proofs that some of the lodges in England and Scotland have been illuminized. It is credibly reported, that in Edinburgh some democratical masons have lately been uncommonly active in enlisting new members. We know, too, that Weishaupt borrowed his first ideas of propagating the pernicious doctrines of Illuminism from free masonry, and that it was upon free masonry those villanous schemes were ingrafted which his depraved ingenuity had suggested. In fine, after mature deliberation, we may venture to affirm, that had free masonry never existed, it is more than probable the French revolution would never have taken place.

From the character which the free masons of this country have hitherto maintained, we should not be surpris'd to see them in the present critical period agree to a general resolution to permit

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no more oaths of secrecy to be administered in their lodges. This indeed might occasion the dissolution of the society: but would this be a real misfortune to any? With respect to the other kingdoms and states of Europe, our government might upon reflection judge it wise and expedient to use their influence, to obtain from all the sovereigns of Europe an edict to prohibit secret associations in their respective dominions. Prohibitions published in one country do not root out the evil; for when these societies are abolished in one country, the members go to another, where they carry on the same plots as before. Thus, after the Elector of Bavaria had dissolved the order of Illuminism in his dominions, the chiefs were received with open arms by several states, where they renewed their nefarious projects: And when the United Irishmen had fled their country, in order to escape the punishment of their crimes, they retired to Hamburg, where, in concert with the disaffected, who flock from every quarter, they form conspiracies against all the governments of Europe.

The Jacobin principles are also disseminated by the licentiousness of the press. There is no doubt that the liberty of the press is as essential to a free government as liberty of person: but as crimes may be committed by words as well as by deeds,

deeds, there can be no reason why liberty of speaking and writing should not be restrained within the bounds of morality, as well as liberty of acting. The persons most immediately connected with the press are authors, printers, and booksellers; all of whom may, from selfish motives and bad principles, publish writings which are hostile to religion, to morality, and good government. We have seen the principal booksellers in Germany enter into a combination, by which they rendered themselves the sovereigns of the press, and the dictators of public opinion. Such combinations ought to be checked by every government. In this country they perhaps never take place: It might, however, deserve consideration, whether any proper regulations could be formed to prevent men of bad character from exercising the profession of a bookseller.

It might be sufficient to deter printers from throwing off impressions of seditious and immoral books, to oblige every printer to affix his name to all the publications which issue from his press. Perhaps, too, it would be a useful regulation to require each printer to give in to some public office, at the end of every year, a complete list of all the books which he has published during each year. From these lists a catalogue might be drawn up and published annually, which would shew at a glance all the productions of the year.

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It might not be proper to oblige authors to prefix their names to their works, because there may be good reasons for concealing them; but printers ought always to be in possession of a written acknowledgment from the author, that the guilty person may not be screened from justice when there is ground for commencing a prosecution against him.

There are certain species of publications, such as reviews, newspapers, novels, and plays, which ought to be subjected to regulations. Reviews and newspapers have recently multiplied to an immense number: almost every person reads newspapers, and a great proportion of that class of men who are denominated readers are accustomed to consult reviews. Now, it is a fact well known, that if the same opinions and principles are daily presented to our minds, they will produce in a given time a very sensible effect; for what we hear every day we come at length to believe. If the great body of the nation receive all their information concerning public affairs from newspapers, and if the class of general readers form their opinions of books chiefly from reviews, it is easy to see that these publications, if undertaken by turbulent and unprincipled men, may insensibly produce the most fatal effects. It is a melancholy truth, that for several years past newspapers and reviews have been published, which are as hostile to the church and the state

as if they had been under the sole direction of the Jacobins of France. Camille Jourdan, one of the deputies who was driven into exile in 1797, has, in his address to his constituents, publicly declared, that one of our newspapers is in the pay of the Directory. It is said, that almost all British publications are prohibited in France except the Courier, which is countenanced by the Directory, and applauded by their adherents. There are reviews which every reader must know have for several years either openly condemned many of the most valuable books which have been written in defence of religion and good government, or have endeavoured to ruin their sale by sly and unmanly insinuations. Every person, then, who reads reviews, should, in the first place, make himself acquainted with the principles of the authors; and if he discover that these are hostile to the religion of Jesus, and to the illustrious constitution of his country, he may judge how far it will be safe for him to resign his understanding and his conscience to such directors.

But are not those readers highly censurable, are they not guilty of the most criminal negligence and dangerous credulity, who place unlimited confidence in the opinions of reviewers, of whose judgment and honesty they are entirely ignorant? Have not the public a title to demand what are the abilities and moral character of

those men who assume the high office of sitting as judges upon Edmund Burke and Bishop Watson? Every good man, then, ought to lay it down as a maxim, never to countenance a review, unless he knows the character of the reviewers. The names of all reviewers ought either to be made public, or their love of truth, and their regard for religion and virtue, ought to be placed beyond the reach of doubt. It is but fair to add, that there are two reviews, whose authors have solemnly avowed their attachment to the religion and constitution of their country. These observations are made by one who has never been connected with any reviewers; who has never received from them either favour or injury; and who will not be deterred from endeavouring to do good to his country, by the desire of averting their censure or the hope of gaining their applause.

There is one fascinating form, under which the most immoral sentiments are conveyed to the mind; namely, novels and dramatic performances. Young ladies ought to be cautioned against these; for many of them are evidently snares formed to entrap their virtue, either written with the intention of inculcating vicious principles, or of familiarizing the mind to scenes of licentiousness. One would be apt to suppose, that most of the fashionable novels and new plays had been composed by Weishaupt, or by some of his pupils

pils under his direction. Most of them are indeed translations from the German, or are written in the German style. In a few of them, in which the moral of the piece is inoffensive or doubtful, the authors contrive to introduce apologies for the most shameful and atrocious crimes. The trifling pantomime of Blue Beard might be tolerated for the amusement of very young children, and for the benefit of those who have commenced their second childhood, if there were not an indecency of dress assumed by the actresses, which must shock the modesty of every person of delicacy. The dresses of the opera are still more exceptionable. The ladies are called upon, as they value the high rank which they hold in society (a rank which Christianity gave, and which vice and irreligion will take away), to check this public indecency, which can suit only an exhibition of prostitutes: for in proportion as it is countenanced, in the same proportion its influence will be extended, till at length it become general; and whenever that shall take place, the fair sex will be degraded from being the moral and rational companions of man, to a contemptible situation which it is painful to name.

There is one antidote more which remains to be mentioned, for preserving our happy country from the baneful contagion of Jacobin principles; and it is an antidote which, if properly applied,

will not only be efficacious, but infallible. It is a truth too well known to require any proof, that all the dreadful calamities which have befallen France must be ultimately ascribed to the want of religious and moral principles. Had pure religion retained its power over the nation, neither the profligate vanity of Mirabeau, nor the ambition of Orleans, nor the frantic ferocity of Robespierre, nor all the destructive plots of the Jacobins, could have reduced France to its present melancholy condition. A free constitution and a virtuous government are justly reckoned among the greatest blessings which a nation can possess; but they must soon lose their efficacy among a people whose manners are corrupted; for as the laws and government are supported by public opinion and by public virtue, they are soon undermined and destroyed by depraved sentiments and vitiated morals. If we wish, then, to save the British constitution, if we wish to preserve the greatness, the honour, and the happiness of the British nation, we must protect and cherish pure rational religion with the most attentive care.

This is the duty of every man, but especially of those whose authority, influence, or example, is widely extended. It is therefore particularly incumbent upon those who move in the higher walks of life, because they are the models upon which the inferior orders of society form their manners.

manners. As they love their country, then, as they prize the honours or the wealth which Providence has bestowed upon them, they are called upon, in these critical and corrupted times, to stand forth as the bulwark of religion, and to shew to others the conduct which they ought to pursue. The observance of Sunday, and the attendance upon public worship, are so necessarily connected with religion and moral virtue, that the total neglect of them either indicates complete profligacy of manners, or great corruption of opinions. Let the higher ranks consider, what would be the consequence if every man were to make Sunday a day of amusement and dissipation. Universal depravity would undoubtedly ensue, with all those direful and shocking scenes which have been transacted in France and in Ireland.

It is a melancholy truth that, notwithstanding the ardent and laudable pursuit of learning which very generally prevails, notwithstanding the minute attention which is paid to the education of the young, religion and morality are not held in that high estimation, nor studied with that care, which their supreme importance demands. By one class of men the languages and sciences are generally studied; but how many of them are totally ignorant of the nature of Christianity, which is the noblest of all the sciences, and the most useful of all the arts? By another class, manu-
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factures and commerce are pursued with an excessive degree of eagerness, as if they were the only valuable objects in human life. But why should these things be? Why should Christianity be despised or neglected, either by the scholar, the manufacturer, or the merchant? Christianity is so far from being hostile to the arts and sciences, that it could be easily proved to be the principal cause which has brought them to their present state of perfection; and so far is it from being inconsistent with manufactures and commerce, that, if judiciously blended with them, it would, by inculcating industry, sobriety, and fidelity, tend more to their improvement than all the regulations which have ever been devised.

But it may be inquired, who ought to be the instructors of the young in religion and morality? The discourses of the clergy are certainly of the highest importance to society; but it must be acknowledged, that they are not suited to the capacity of the young. The young are not accustomed to follow a continued train of thought; their knowledge is at first entirely acquired by conversation, by hearing the opinions of others, by proposing questions of their own, and by the frequent perusal of books adapted to their modes of thinking. These things ought to be attended to by schoolmasters, by tutors, and by teachers of every description. But public or professional teach-

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ers are not the persons whom nature has appointed as the instructors and guardians of the morals of the young. Professional teachers ought indeed to contribute their assistance, which on all occasions may be of the highest consequence; but the duty is too sacred, and the charge too important, to be transferred to strangers. Parents ought to execute the task themselves: Their situation gives them all those advantages which can enable one man to impress the understanding, to guide the opinions, to direct the passions, and influence the manners of another. The authority of a father over the child whom he protects and supports; the tender and insinuating influence of a mother over the child whom she nourishes and loves—may, when judiciously exercised, form the young to whatever is great, and honourable, and excellent. We must acknowledge, indeed, that the best fathers may have profligate children; but in that case we shall find, that the children are ruined by falling into bad company.

If we take a general view of the causes which determine the characters of mankind, we shall be convinced, that the character of children depends more upon the example and conduct of their parents than upon any other cause. By the love, then, which parents bear their children, by the ardent desire which they feel to see them rise to glory and happiness; as they regard their own reputation,

tation, the honour of their country, and the most important and inviolable duty which they owe to society—they are bound to watch over the morals of their offspring; to instruct them in what is right, and excellent, and laudable; to admonish them of what is wrong, destructive, and unbecoming; and to show them an example of prudence, sobriety, and integrity.

Were these things attended to, we might sit down in the chair of tranquillity, and smile at the dangers which threaten us from afar, like the traveller who has ascended the Andes when he hears the distant thunder rolling under his feet. Then might we confidently hope, that the venerable fabric of the **BRITISH CONSTITUTION**, which has for centuries braved the fury of many a storm, and been the shelter and defence of all the illustrious and excellent against the assaults of the vicious and abandoned, shall long continue to be the admiration of the wise, the noble, and the virtuous, and the protection of all that is sacred and valuable in human life.

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